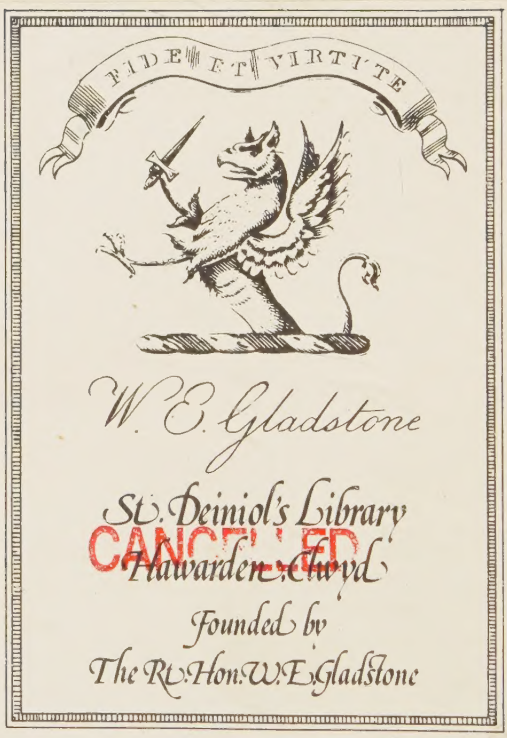


CANCELLED

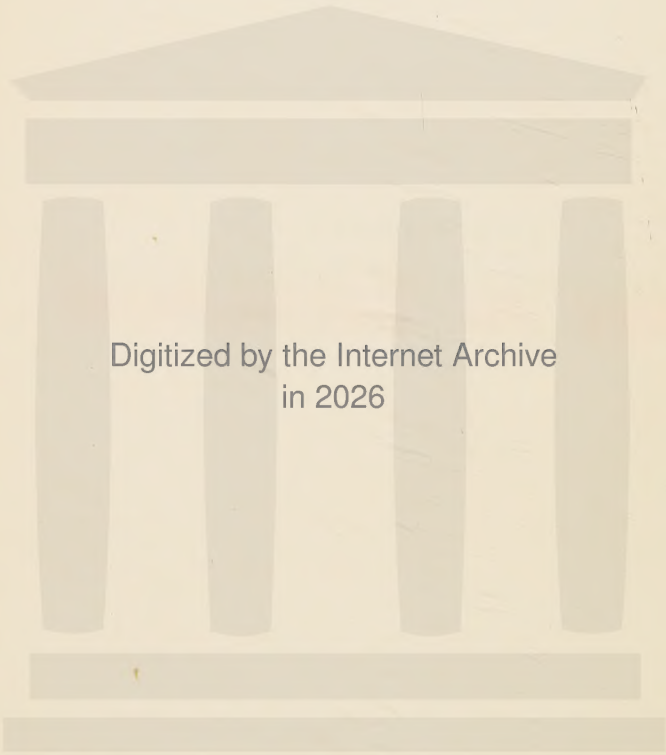
G
36
41

d. 8

ST. DEINIOL'S LIBRARY,
HAWARDEN.

England, Church of. (Ritual)

THE LIBRARY OF
LITURGIOLOGY & ECCLESIOLOGY
FOR ENGLISH READERS



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/essaysonceremoni0000vern

Essays on Ceremonial

THE LIBRARY OF
LITURGIOLOGY & ECCLESIOLOGY
FOR ENGLISH READERS

EDITED BY VERNON STALEY

PROVOST OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF
ST. ANDREW INVERNESS

Volume IIII

Essays on Ceremonial

BY VARIOUS AUTHORS

LONDON
ALEXANDER MORING LTD.
THE DE LA MORE PRESS
298 REGENT STREET, W.
1904

EDITOR'S PREFACE

This Fourth Volume of The Library of Liturgiology and Ecclesiology for English Readers consists of a collection of seven essays, contributed by various writers, bearing, with one exception, directly or indirectly upon the subject of the Ceremonial of the English Church.

To Mr. Cuthbert Atchley special acknowledgment is due for three valuable contributions to this volume :— (1) "English Ceremonial" : (2) "On English Liturgical Colours" : (3) "Some Remarks on the Edwardian Prayer-Book." No one can read and study these essays without recognising the writer's patient investigation of facts, and careful weighing of evidence, in regard to the subjects treated. The first of Mr. Atchley's essays originally appeared in an abbreviated form in the pages of *The Anglo-Catholic*.

Dr. J. Wickham Legg has most kindly consented to the reprinting of his treatise "On Some Ancient Liturgical Customs now falling into disuse," read before *The St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society* in the year 1887. At the present time there appears to be serious reasons for again drawing attention to the principles laid down, with the writer's usual learning and force, in this treatise.

The articles on "Vestments" and "Altars" by the Rev. Percy Dearmer, the author of *The Parson's Handbook*, originally appeared in the columns of *The Art Workers' Quarterly*. They were written in order to put the main outlines of the subject in hand before those who are concerned in various church crafts. These articles serve

to point out simply and directly the right lines to be followed in the English Church concerning the important matters of which they treat.

Mr. Edmund Bishop has, with great kindness, permitted his profoundly interesting and gracefully written tract, "The Genius of the Roman Rite," to be reprinted in this volume.

It remains to be said that the several contributors to this volume are alone responsible for the statements made and the opinions expressed in their respective essays. To one and all the Editor's thanks are due.

The Editor sincerely trusts that the publication of the following pages may in some measure prove instrumental in promoting a cause which, after much searching of heart, he has from conviction been led heartily to espouse :—the spread of intelligent uniformity in ceremonial matters in obedience to the authority of the English Church. It is to this authority that all who share in common the ministerial office in that Church are deliberately pledged to submit. It is idle to deny that in this submission to authority, on the part of clergy and laity alike, lies the only hope of the deliverance of the English Church from the ceremonial chaos in which at the present time she is so unfortunately plunged, to the serious loss of influence and to the perplexity of very many amongst us.

VERNON STALEY.

Inverness, N.B.,
November 1903.

CONTENTS

PAGE

ENGLISH CEREMONIAL 1
By E. G. Cuthbert F. Atchley

ON SOME ANCIENT LITURGICAL CUSTOMS NOW FALLING INTO DISUSE (illustrated) 37
By J. Wickham Legg

ON ENGLISH LITURGICAL COLOURS . . 87
By E. G. Cuthbert F. Atchley

CHURCH VESTMENTS (illustrated) . . . 177
By Percy Dearmer

THE ALTAR AND ITS FURNITURE (illustrated) 193
By Percy Dearmer

SOME REMARKS ON THE EDWARDIAN PRAYER-BOOK 205
By E. G. Cuthbert F. Atchley

THE GENIUS OF THE ROMAN RITE . . 281
By Edmund Bishop

English Ceremonial

BY E. G. CUTHBERT F. ATCHLEY

English Ceremonial

BY E. G. CUTHBERT F. ATCHLEY

L.R.C.P., M.R.C.S.

I suppose that no one will venture to maintain that the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer contain all that is needful for the due performance of the ceremonial of the divine worship and other rites, at any rate explicitly. Implicitly, perhaps, they do, as there is a tacit assumption that a very large amount of ceremonial detail is left to tradition and custom. And until the tractarian revival there were many minor customs still surviving which have since been altered or disused through ignorance of their historical pedigree. The tractarian leaders were theologians, and with but few exceptions knew little of ecclesiology, or even of liturgiology. And so it has happened that much old English ceremonial was deliberately given up as being protestant accretion of late growth, and so on. Instead of retaining this, they, or rather their immediate successors, modelled their ceremonial on what they saw in their continental tours, that is to say, on the use which the bishop of Rome was endeavouring more or less successfully to impress on the other Churches of his obedience.

Now, just before Morning Prayer we find a rubric that has caused more fierce discussion and bitterness, and, may I say, display of casuistry (using the word in the popular sense), than any other. We call it the Ornaments' Rubric. There we learn that the chancels are to remain as they have been in times past; and that such ornaments of the church, as well as those of the ministers

at all times of their ministration, as were, either legal or else customary, in the Church of England, not of Rome, by authority of Parliament, in the second year of King Edward VI., are to be retained and be in use. I am not going to waste time now on the meaning of the particular phrases used. Dr. Malcolm MacColl has presented an unanswered and seemingly unanswerable exposition of the whole rubric in the last edition of his "Reformation Settlement." But I wish to insist that, given these ornaments, they must be used in the same way, and only in the same way, as they were at the period named in the rubric. Otherwise they might still be retained and be in use for purposes of which the framers of the rubric never dreamed. For instance, a large altar cross might easily be retained and be in use to support the coat and hat of the minister in the vestry ; the sexton might find the holy-water vessel convenient when washing out the church ; and the altar candlesticks form nice stands to hold maidenhair ferns, as I saw some years ago at a church in Gloucestershire. The only safeguard against this that I can see is to insist on the same use of the ornaments of the rubric as obtained at the period named therein.

In divine service—which means only evensong and mattins, and not mass or the communion service—there is not much ceremonial opportunity. The ornaments of the clergy in quire[1] are, and were, surplice, hood, and cap, but never a stole. There is not the least evidence or ground for thinking that any one at any time ever wore stole in quire. The cap was not the Roman biretta, but is represented to-day by the ordinary college-cap ; it was worn when sitting, for protection. Non-graduates having no hoods are allowed by later canons to wear a stuff tippet instead. A tippet is a broad band of cloth, worn stole-wise round the neck ; custom, however, has sanctioned the use of a hood by those who have been trained at

[1] *Translations of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, 1900 ; vol. iv, pp. 313 sq.

certain theological colleges. In 2 Ed. VI. and the reign of Elizabeth canons wore fur amesses.[1] The surplice of the clergy is full and long, reaching half-way below the knees, and having big, full sleeves.

According to the old English rules, the confession and absolution must always be said by the bishop, if he be present, otherwise by the priest of highest dignity present[2]—i.e., in parish churches, the rector or vicar. When incense was used, the altars, quire, and people were censed at *Magnificat* and *Benedictus*, and on the highest feasts at *Te Deum* as well.[3] The officiant wore a cope, which he put on only just before censing, either in the quire or at the altar, and kept it on to read the collects.[4] Ordinarily, he read these at his seat in quire, but always at evensong and mattins, when festal or dominical, he advanced to the quire-step leading up to the altar (unless he was a bishop), and there read them, facing eastwards.[5] In both cases he stood, not knelt; and so he should do now, right on to the end of the service, although, as medieval rubricians used to phrase it, *quidem stulti aliter faciunt.* During the censing lights were held by the tapers at the step, and when the priest came to read the collects there, they held a light on either side the while.

"In quires and places where they sing" "the anthem" is sung after the third collect. "Quires" are cathedral and collegiate churches. In the times of the Latin service it was customary at the end of evensong and lauds to

[1] *Ibid.* 323. *Some Principles and Services of the Prayer Book historically considered*, Edited by J. Wickham Legg, London, 1899; p. 2, note 2.

[2] W. H. Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, Cambridge, 1898; j, 46–7, 50. *Vetus Registrum Sarisberiense*, Rolls Series, 1883; vol. i, pp. 56, 146. Henry Bradshaw and Chr. Wordsworth, *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, Cambridge 1892–7; pt. j, p. 282: pt. ij, p. 27 (Lichfield), pp. 276, 283 (Lincoln).

[3] Frere, *Use of Sarum*, i, 31, 32, 44, 45, 76–7, 97, 102, 103–7, 121–3, 126, 183–5, 187, 250; 32, 121, 155, 175, 250. *Vetus Registr. Sar.*, 50, 90, 94; cf. 86. *Trans. St. P. E. Soc.*, 1902; vol. v, pt. ij, p. 111, for St. Nicholas, Bristol, in 1481. *British Magazine*, 1834; vol. vj, p. 265, for Trinity Church, Coventry. *Cf.* Chaucer's *Milleres tale*, ll. 3339 sq.

[4] Frere, *Use of Sarum*, i, 113. *Vet. Reg. Sar.*, 50. Lindewode, *Provinciale*, Lib. III: tit. *De ecclesiis edificandis*: cap. *Vt parrochiani*: verb. *In choro.*

[5] Frere, *Use of Sarum*, j, 45, 97, 117, 123, 141. *Vet. Reg. Sar.*, 52, 86.

have "memories," as they were called; sometimes of a feast that fell on the same day as another, sometimes of Peace, of St. Mary, of the Cross, and so on. These consisted of an anthem sung by the choir, a ℣ and ℟, and a collect said by the priest. The anthem of our book is a relic of this. A hymn used to be sung before the invitatory psalm (*Venite*) at mattins, and the gospel canticle at lauds, evensong, and complin. As late as the year 1716 Dr. Bisse records the practice of singing a hymn or metrical psalm after the second lesson—*i.e.*, before *Benedictus* or *Nunc Dimittis*; as late as 1842 it was "common, in some churches, in the evening service." Sometimes a voluntary on the organ was played instead,[1] a custom which Dr. Wickham Legg tells me that he can remember as late as 1857 in the chapel at Hampton Court.

Of more interest and importance are the ceremonies and the ornaments used in the service for the holy communion, commonly called the mass.

First, the altar. The high altar was of stone, almost never of wood; the low or nether altars usually of stone, but not infrequently of wood with a stone super-altar or slab, and occasionally hollow,[2] so as to hold the altar furniture, or to make a sort of credence into which the cruets were put. During mass the altar was veiled by a hanging before it, called the netherfront, and there was against the wall behind and above a similar hanging known as the overfront, dossal, or reredos. At each end of the altar hung a curtain, either between tall pillars or columns, or from a rod jutting out from the wall at the back. These curtains were called riddells or costers.[3]

[1] Thomas Bisse, *The Beauty of Holiness in the Common Prayer*, Ed. F. P. Pocock, Cambridge, 1842; pp. xvij, 114.

[2] See some examples in T. F. Simmons, *The Lay Folks Mass Book*, E.E.T.S., 1879; pp. 165 sq. *Cf. Wiltshire Arch. and Nat Hist. Magazine*, 1869; xj, 295.

[3] For fuller information on these matters see *Some Principles and Services of the Prayer Book historically considered*, ed. J. Wickham Legg, London, 1899; pp. 41 sq.

Two or three linen cloths covered the surface of the altar, generally over a cloth woven of hair, which lay next the slab and protected the linen cloths.[1] The topmost cloth was always long, and hung down so as to cover each end. To the lowest linen cloth was attached, a band of rich material, that hung over the front of the altar and hid the attachment of the netherfront. This was called the frontlet or apparel.

One or two candlesticks, with lighted tapers on them, stood on the altar itself. In some cathedral and monastic churches they had one, three, four, five, or seven, according to the season and place ; but in parish churches we never find more than two, and often only one, specially at low altars and in poor churches. When there was only one, it was set on the left half of the altar.[2]

Sometimes they put these two lights on the rods that held the riddells, and had none at all on the altar. Or when they had four columns to hold up the overfront and riddells, these were often utilised to carry a taper on each. Or, again, only two were set there, and two on the altar ; and yet again, only two on columns, and none on the altar. When there were only two on the altar, or on the columns, there were two large standard candlesticks standing on the step leading from the quire up to the altar, and in rich churches there were often four or more of these standards. But I find no instance of more than two lights upon the altar, and two or four before it, in any parish church. The modern Roman six were quite unknown in parish churches ; there was something like it at Sarum at the beginning of the thirteenth century, but the six *in eminentia* before the relics, cross, and other images were only used on double feasts, and, moreover, were an addition to those on the altar and in the standards, and were placed somewhere right behind the high altar.[3] Lights behind the altar in

[1] *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, 1900 ; vol. iv, pp. 152 sq. [2] See *Some Principles*, pp. 6 sq.
[3] Frere, *Use of Sarum*, j, 4. *Vet. Reg. Sar.*, 8.

varying number on great festivals were common in many big churches, specially at Christmastide.

A cross was usually seen as an ornament of the high altar, and sometimes even on low altars. But it was by no means considered a necessary ornament.

The altar ornaments and priest's vestments used at the high altar were kept in a revestry or vestry ; those for low altars in chests or cupboards near the altars themselves. Sometimes there was a cupboard inside the altar for that purpose.[1] At one time the ornaments of the altar were brought out for service only and replaced directly after, but during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the lazier habit of leaving everything on the altar gradually came in, though it never became quite universal. To protect the linen cloths left on the altar a canvas or silk cover was laid over them.[2]

Gradines and flowers on the altar were quite unknown ; but sometimes the reredos was a solid structure, put on the altar on high festivals, and on the top of it relics and altar-plate of all kinds[3] were arranged.

We now come to the sacred vessels and their linen appurtenances. The chalice, with its cover, the paten, was of the richest metal which the church could afford, silver or gold. Old patens were never plain, but always had some pattern engraved on them. There was a cruet for wine, another for water ; usually they were of metal, if not always ; but perhaps glass might be unobjectionable. Also a box or boxes to hold the obleys and huselling-breads ; often these were of wood or ivory.

A bason and an ewer were provided for the lavatory to wash the priest's fingers.

The linen cloths which pertain to the chalice and paten[4] are called corporasses. At first there was only one, of large size, on which the vessels were placed, and

[1] See *Lay Folk's Mass Book*, 165.
[2] *Trans. St. P.E.S.*, iv, 151.
[3] *Some Principles*, 15, 88 sq.
[4] Trans. *St. P.E.S.*, iv, 156.

which could also be turned up so as to cover the oblations. In many places, as time went on, convenience suggested the employment of two; a larger one to consecrate upon as before, and a lesser one to veil the chalice. Consequently it is common to find the corporasses mentioned in pairs. The material of the corporasses is clearly defined by the canonists. They may not be made of silk or any thing else but pure flax; they may not have any thing whatever put into them to make them stand stiff and rigid over the chalice; they must be fair, white, and fine. Luxurious ideas that expressed themselves in silken surplices also appeared in silken corporasses. It was only the upper cloth that was so "improved," and from it we get the silk chalice-veil of the present Roman use. But all the same it is an infringement of the rule, and unlawful.[1]

At high mass a cloth, variously termed a sudary, offertory-veil, patener's veil, or silk for the paten, was in use, to veil the hands of him who solemnly carried in the chalice and paten and took them out again when done with, and who took charge of the paten from after the offertory till just before the communion. This veil is quite distinct from the chalice-veil or silken corporas. The minister who brought in the sacred vessels and held the paten was either the collet (*acollitus*) or the subdeacon. In parish churches one of the parish clerks fulfilled this duty. In the eighteenth century Wheatly[2] and Waterland[3] both notice that it was the general practice to place the elements on the Lord's table before the beginning of morning prayer, *by the hands of the clerk or sexton*. The rubric would seem to be opposed to this; it would be

[1] Possibly this medieval use of silk for the upper chalice-veil is a Gallican relic: for they had a large veil, to cover oblations and altar as well, from the offertory. Or it may have something in common with the silken chalice-cover mentioned by P. Amelio (Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, Luteciae Parisiorum, 1689; p. 493).

[2] Charles Wheatly, *A Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer*, Chap. VI: sect. x: art iii.; Oxford, 1802; page 281.

[3] Daniel Waterland, *Works*, Oxford, 1823; vol. x, p. 188.

better that the inferior minister should bring them in and place them on the credence table, and that the priest should receive them at the offertory and actually set them on the altar.

We are told nothing in the Book of Common Prayer of the manner in which the celebrant and his assistants reach the altar. Presumably the old ways are still to be followed. At high mass they went thus: first the cross-bearer, when there was one; second, the two taperers with lighted candles; third, the censer; fourth, the subdeacon or epistoler; fifth, the deacon or gospeller; and sixth, the celebrant. The last three wore girded albs, with their amices perhaps drawn over their heads[1] till they reached the altar, or perhaps until the offertory, and with fanons on their left wrists; the priest in stole and chasuble as well, the deacon in stole and dalmatic, and the subdeacon in a tunicle. The boys who carried the cross, lights, and censer wore either albs, like the other ministers, or else surplices. They all donned their respective ornaments in the vestry. But at low mass, in the majority of cases, the priest took his vestments, book, chalice, etc., from a chest or cupboard near the altar at which he was about to celebrate, and laid them on the altar, the vestments on the north end, the chalice, etc., in the midst, and the massbook on its cushion at the south end.

Whilst the priest and his assistants vested they said certain prayers[2]—to wit, *Veni, Creator Spiritus*, an orison, "God, unto whom all hearts be open," the 43rd psalm,

[1] Sir Thomas More wrote that Tindal would have the people pull the priest from the altar and the amice from his head (*Works*, London, 1557; col. 641). "So hath the priest . . . an Amise put vpon his head" (Thomas Watson, *Holsome and Catholyke doctryne concerninge the seven Sacramentes*, London, 1558; fo. lxxvi.). T. Becon, *Prayers*, Parker Society, 1844; p. 259. A common name for the amice is "headcloth." The Blackfriars wear the amice on the head in passing from the vestry to the altar. In many churches in the northern part of France it was worn until the offertory or the canon as late as the eighteenth century.

[2] According to the Sarum books. They are not prescribed in the York and Hereford massbooks.

the short litany, and the Lord's Prayer. At high mass these were said in the vestry, at low mass at the north side of the altar.[1]

If there is any ceremony which may truly be called an œcumenical custom, it is certainly that of mixing water with the wine put into the chalice. Dr. Benson laid it down in the famous "Lincoln Judgment" that "no rule has been made to change or abolish the all but universal use of a mixed cup from the beginning." It is an interesting fact that, while certain bishops have been desperately eager to enforce a mere opinion, expressed by two archbishops who rightly made no claim to any special liturgical or ecclesiological knowledge, they have been singularly slow in giving effect to the judicial decision of another archbishop, one who was not only himself learned in these matters, but who had sought the advice of experts as well.

In this country at high mass the preparation of the elements—i.e., the putting of the breads on the paten, and "making the chalice" (as the mingling of the water and wine therein is technically called), was effected by the subdeacon, with the help of the collet, between the Epistle and Gospel. And the same was very common on the Continent. In most places, too, at low mass the priest himself prepared the elements just before the service, generally just before he put on his chasuble ; and what evidence we have shows that, as at Paris, Beauvais, Auxerre, Coutances, and St. Pol de Leon,[2] so in England, he prepared them before the service, or at any rate before the Gospel, at low mass. The Black-monks

[1] In the Layfolks' Massbook we read that the priest takes the chasuble in both his hands from *the altar end*. The book occupied the south end, the chalice the midst, so this must have been the north end (Ed. T. F. Simmons, E.E.T.S, 1879 ; pp. 6, 7, and notes).

[2] Edm. Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib. 1 : cap. iv. : art. j ; n. 13 : art. xij. : ordo xxvij. : *cf.* xxxiv. : Antuerpiae, 1736 ; t. j, coll. 351-2, 635, *cf.* 662. J. Wickham Legg, *A Comparative Study of the time in the Christian Liturgy at which the elements are prepared and set on the Holy Table*, Transactions St. Paul's Eccl. Soc., 1892 ; iij, pp. 78-79-80.

of Westminster[1] and Evesham,[2] the Blackfriars,[3] and some other orders did the same ; and Soto, a Blackfriar, praised, in the reign of queen Mary, the custom of his order in that matter, which is still observed, because it allows more time for the water to become thoroughly incorporated in the wine.[4] Unless, then, the preparation take place between the Epistle and Gospel, it should be done before the service, at the credence or the lavatory (*piscina*). Where there are other ministers besides the celebrant, the epistoler ought to make the chalice and put the breads on the paten. The breads may be either unleavened or leavened. In the East leavened bread has been general from very early times, but in the West, though both have prevailed together for several centuries, unleavened has been more usual. In this country I think that leavened bread was first introduced by the so-called reformers of the sixteenth century. The British Church used wafer-bread.[5]

When all is prepared the paten is set on the chalice, and a folded corporas laid over all as a covering.

Let us turn to the Book of Common Prayer. The table, *mensa Domini*, God's board, or altar (we find all of these names in medieval books), has a fair white linen cloth upon it. The priest, standing at its north side, says the Lord's Prayer and the Collect for Purity. Two of the old preparatory prayers remain, in reverse order, and the position is the same as it used to be at low mass. This north-side position here is not peculiar to the secular English churches. Thus in the Westminster

[1] *Missale ad usum ecclesie Westmonasteriensis*, ed. J. Wickham Legg, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1893 ; fasc. ii, col. 488.

[2] *Officium Ecclesiasticum Abbatum secundum usum Eveshamensis monasterij*, ed. H. A. Wilson, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1893 ; col. 9.

[3] J. Wickham Legg, *A comparative study of the time in the Christian Liturgy at which the elements are prepared and set on the Holy Table*, Trans. St.P.E.S., 1892 ; vol. iii, pp. 78, 79, 80.

[4] *Commentariorum* fratris Dominici Soto Segoviensis *Tomus primus*, Selmanticae, 1569 ; p. 374.

[5] F. E. Warren, *the Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, Oxford, 1881 ; pp. 131-3.

massbook,[1] written *circa* 1370 A.D., the priest says the general confession at the beginning of mass, standing by the left or north corner of the altar, with his minister and the bystanding people. He vested and made the chalice somewhere near the altar, but his preparatory prayers differed from the Sarum ones. The Charterhouse priest[2] even now, when he says mass, says the confession standing sideways at the north corner, and turning towards the deacon, who kneels facing him at the opposite end, after which he turns towards the altar and says the Lord's Prayer. The Cluniacs[3] used to do the same. So the Book of Common Prayer is not singular in prescribing this position.

At the beginning of the service the priest used to cense the altar (with three or nine swings), after which the deacon censed him, and the subdeacon gave him the Text, i.e., the Gospels'-book to kiss. Such was the direction of the Sarum books. But in other places there was no censing here. It is not mentioned in the Lincoln *Liber Niger*, nor the Hereford massbook. It is directed at York,[4] but it was not done at Chichester[5] in the fifteenth century. Becon[6] only mentions the censing after the creed, and that but on solemn feasts. At Wells it was done only on greater double feasts.[7]

[1] Iuxta sinistrum cornu altaris, *Edit. cit.* ij, 489.

[2] Dr. Wickham Legg tells me that he has seen this in recent years. See the frontispiece in *Missale Cartusiensis Ordinis*, Lugduni, 1713; and the rubric p. 182:—pergit infra gradum altaris ad cornu evangelij ibique stans lateraliter verso vultu ad piscinam. E. Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib. I. : cap. iv. : art xij. : ordo xxv. : Antuerpiae, 1736: t. i, col. 631.

[3] A.D. 1110. Cap. xxx. [Sacerdos] Osculatur altare, et textum evangelii, dat locum diacono ut stare possit prope dextrum cornu altaris; ipse quoque stat prope sinistrum, et inclinans contra diaconum similiter inclinantem, dicit confessionem (Lucas d'Achery, *Spicilegium*, Parisijs, 1723; t. j, p. 676).

[4] *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis*, Surtees Society; 1874, vol. i, p. 166.

[5] *Archaeologia*, 1877; xlv, 213.

[6] Thomas Becon, *Prayers*, Parker Society, 1844; p. 264.

[7] H. E. Reynolds, *Wells Cathedral*, Leeds, 1881; p. 9.

The next thing in the Anglican ritual is a lesson from the Old Testament called the Ten Commandments, farsed or interlarded with ten Kyries. This custom of farsing with extraneous matter more or less appropriate was common in the middle ages. For example, there was a prophetic lesson at the cock-crow mass of Christmas day from Isaiah ix. (2, 6-7). In places where they did *not* sing it was read simply, but where they did it was farsed with a lot of matter by no means adding to the dignity of the whole thing.

Before considering the way in which these Old Testament lessons were read, let us glance at the scheme of scripture lessons and prayers in our ritual. We have (1) a lesson from the Old Testament on the moral law ; (2) a collect for the sovereign, whose duty it is to see justice done, *Custos utriusque tabulae*, as Wheatly[1] calls him ; (3) the collect of the day ; (4) the Epistle, and (5) the Gospel. This order is a great stumbling-block to "correct Catholics" and other high-church folk, chiefly, so far as I can make out, because it differs from that found normally in the Pian Roman massbook. Yet if you turn to the Ember-Saturday masses, which have retained primitive features to a greater degree than most others, you will find that after several collects, anthems, and lessons from the Old Testament we have one prayer, followed by the accustomed memories, which in the older books is marked *ad missam*, and even in the later ones is distinguished above its fellows by being prefaced with *Dominus vobiscum* as is customary for the mass collect. So that it is not necessary for the "Collect of the Day" to come before every other collect at mass.

Let us go back a little. On Ember-Wednesdays there were three lessons at Sarum, just as we now have always. So, too, on the vigil of Christmas. On these days the first was read by a collet, wearing an alb, at the quire

[1] Ch. Wheatly, *A Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer*, chap. VI. ; sect. v. : 52.

step ; but if the vigil fell on a Sunday he read it[1] from the "pulpit." The prophetic lesson at the dawn mass of Christmas[2] was read by a clerk of the second form in a surplice ; that at the cockcrow mass in quires[3] by two clerks in silk copes, and from the "pulpit." With us the rubric apparently directs the celebrant to say it, and turned to the people. Andrews and other seventeenth century divines used to make a great business of it, coming down from the altar[4] and standing at the septum, which, I think, meant the altar rails. I say *apparently* the celebrant, for, as we shall see when we come to the other scripture lessons, it does not necessarily follow from the rubric when other ministers are available ; and though the priest is mentioned at first, each Commandment is prefaced with the word *minister*. It would be better, and often more convenient, if all the scripture lessons were read by assistant ministers ; and in that case the old ways of reading the Old Testament lessons might be adapted so far as is convenient to the means of each particular church for the saying of the Decalogue.

The "Collect of the Day" was always said at the right or south corner of the altar. The only exception that I can recall is at Reims[5] and Laon,[6] where *Gloria in Excelsis Deo* was intoned, and the collects read, from a small lectern on the right or south side of the quire. There is nothing to prevent the old practice from obtaining now, and it can still be prefaced by *The Lord be with you* and *Let us pray*, as of old. These are just as permissible as the adscription before the Gospel, and serve to draw special attention to the particular theme of the service for the day.

"And immediately after the collect the priest shall read

[1] *Missale ad usum insignis et praeclarae ecclesiae Sarum*, Burntisland, 1861-1883 ; col. 45 : cnf. col. 58 for the third mass.

[2] *Ibid.*, col. 54. [3] *Ibid.*, col. 50.

[4] John Cosin, *Works*, Oxford, 1855 ; vol. V, p. 89.

[5] Ed. Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib. I. : cap. iv. : art. iij. : n. iv. : Antuerpiae, 1736 ; t. j, col. 365.

[6] *Ibid.*, and see art. xij. : ordo xx. : t. j, col. 607.

the epistle." "And the epistle ended . . . then shall he read the gospel." The rubric seems clear enough. The priest shall read both. Now "shall" does not mean "must": only that in cases where he has no assistant, he shall do it. For, in the Ordering of the Deacons, the bishop gives each deacon "authority to read the Gospel in the church," and straightway one appointed by him does so. There is nothing sacerdotal in the privilege of reading the scripture lessons here any more than in divine service, and it certainly is far from primitive for the priest to do so. In the days of St. Cyprian of Carthage[1] even the gospel was read by a clerk merely in the order of reader. By degrees the subdeacon wrested from the reader the right of reading the epistle, in spite of the astonished protests of Amalarius[2] in the ninth century, and the deacon usurped the right of singing the gospel. But in the same century we find that every priest was expected to have a clerk[3] to read the epistle at mass, answer with the responses, and sing the Psalms in divine service. These duties are laid down for parish clerks in the canon law. All through the middle ages right up to 1549 we find this practice in England. In Edward VI.'s Book of Common Prayer it is "the priest or he that is appointed" who reads the epistle; but in Grafton's Psalter, a companion Book to the Prayer Book of 1549, it is "the priest or the clerk." The rubric in Elizabeth's Book was exactly the same as ours now. And yet so late as 1571 in the northern, and 1577 in the southern province, Grindal[4] enquired if the clerk read the epistle

[1] *The Epistle of St. Cyprian*, Oxford, 1844; Ep. xxxviij, § v, p. 86: Ep. xxxix, § ij, p. 89.

[2] Mitor qua de re sumptus usus, in ecclesia nostra, ut subdiaconus frequentissima legat lectionem ad missam, cura hoc non reperatur ex ministerio sibi dato in consecratione commissium, neque ex litteris canonicis neque ex nomine suo (*De ecclesiasticis officiis*, Lib. II.; cap. xj).

[3] Council of Nantes in *Decr. Greg. IX.* Lib. III.: tit. i.: cap 3. Pope Leo IV. in Migne, *Patrol. Latin.*; t. cxv., col. 677. Hincmar of Reims, *ibid.* t. cxxv., col. 779.

[4] Edm. Grindall, *Remains*, Parker Society, 1843; pp. 142 (n. 21), 168 (n. 39).

"as is used." Visitation articles for the dioceses of London[1] in 1577, and Lincoln[2] in 1585 and 1591, expect the same thing. At Worcester[3] in 1641 the epistoler and gospeller were "lay clerks, as in other churches"; and in 1661 the same practice seems to have obtained. Consequently, the rubric does not exclude the parish clerk from reading the epistle, and there is no doubt that a deacon may read the gospel. By parity of reasoning and following of old customs, the Ten Commandments may also be read by an inferior minister.

It is customary for the Epistle to be read on the right (or south) side of the chancel, and for the Gospel to be read on the left side. And this practice is of very early date. But at Durham[4] before the dissolution both Epistle and Gospel were read from the same lectern on the north side of the high altar. We have the authority of the Edwardian injunctions of 1547 for reading both from the pulpit or such convenient place as the people may hear the same,[5] at high mass. And in reading, surely the obvious position of the reader is facing those whom he is addressing.

After he has read the Epistle, the subdeacon or epistoler will prepare the oblations if it has not been done already. Psalms or anthems were sung between the Epistle and the Gospel. This practice is of the highest antiquity.[6] The deacon or gospeller meanwhile spread the corporas on the altar in the midst, and then censed it with seven, nine, or twelve swings; the number[7] seems to have varied.

[1] *Second Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Rubrics, etc.* London, 1868; p. 420.

[2] Quoted by Dr. Wickam Legg in *Church Times* 2 December 1898.

[3] J. Noake, *Monastery and Cathedral of Worcester*, London, 1866; pp. 559, 568.

[4] *A Description of all the . . . Rites . . . of Durham*, Surtees Society, 1842; p. 11.

[5] The 19th item, (Thomas Cranmer, *Miscellaneous Writings*, Parker Society, 1846; p. 501).

[6] L. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, Paris, 1898; pp. 57, 159.

[7] *Tracts of Clement Maydeston*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1894; pp. 36, 37.

He then took the Gospels'-book, and having received the priest's blessing went to the place where he was to read, preceded by the subdeacon, the taperers, the censer and sometimes by a cross. It does not appear to have been general for the Gospel to have been read from the rood loft, although the Passion[1] certainly was sometimes; but there is an instance at Wingham[2] collegiate church one Corpus Christi day. The subdeacon held the book, which was not censed in the secular English[3] rites. Before the Gospel it is still the custom for the people to answer *Glory be to Thee, O Lord*, and the old use was for them to make the sign of the Cross on their foreheads and breasts (but never on the mouth). In some places the Roman practice of answering *Praise be to Thee, O Christ*, after the Gospel is read, has been adopted. It is not English, but Roman. The only instance of a response after the gospel that I can find in this country is at Lincoln. I do not think that our papistophil friends will value it as a precedent any more than I do. In 1548 the royal commissioners there enjoined[4] that after the gospel the deacon should say, *Thanks be to God*, and *God save the King*. It is a Lincoln freak, with no other companion in this land so far as I am aware.

After the Gospel follows the Mass-Creed, or Nicene Creed. The words *I believe in one God* are intoned, by custom, by the celebrant from the midst of the altar, and the choir sings the rest. Unlike all other sung things, the mass-creed was sung throughout by the whole choir, and not from side to side; the rule was clear[5] and plain.

[1] J. P. Neale, *Views of . . . Collegiate and Parochial Churches*, London, 1825; vol. ij, *Holy Trinity, Melford*, p. 13.

[2] *The Sacristy*, 1871; vol. i, p. 376.

[3] *Missale Sarum*, 12. *Missale ad usum percelebris ecclesiae Herfordensis*, Leeds, 1874; p. 117. It obtained in certain monastic rites, *e.g.* at Evesham (*Officium eccl. Abbatum secundum usum Eveshamensis monasterii*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1893; col. 68).

[4] H. Bradshaw and Chr. Wordsworth, *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, Cambridge, 1897; pt. ij, p. 594.

[5] Non alternatim, sed a toto choro (*Missale Sarum*, 14).

Also, there was only one melody, which everybody could sing, so that all literate folk could join in. What we have come to now is patent to all men. The choir bawl to the hearts' content, or show off their voices in solos, and the faithful stand in stolid silence.

It will surprise most of you to hear that there is no medieval rule ordering it to be sung facing East, but, on the contrary, the choir are ordered to stand facing each other. I think it must have been one of Laud's innovations, as it seems to be first[1] heard of in 1641, and it does not appear to be known on the Continent. The Roman rules agree with ours.

The next question is, what reverence should be made at the mention of the Incarnation? Most of the older consuetudinaries direct the choir to bow towards the altar at each of these clauses: (1) *And was incarnate*; (2) *And was made man*; (3) *And was crucified.* At Hereford we have merely the order[2] for genuflection (it does not say by whom) from *and was incarnate* as far as *also for us* inclusive. Grandisson[3] tried to introduce the roman practice of genuflecting as far as *And was crucified* exclusive, and the same is ordered in the Pontifical[4] of Bishop Lacy, of Exeter, and in the fifteenth century Lincoln[5] statutes. At Syon Monastery, near Isleworth, at Brigettine house, they knelt[6] from *And was incarnate* until *And the third day* exclusive; and the same custom prevailed largely in France until the Revolution. It probably represents the later English practice, for during the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. bowing was largely supplanted by genuflection. In a Sermon on St.

[1] E. Cardwell, *A History of Conferences*, etc., Oxford, 1849; p. 273, § 8.

[2] *Missale ad usum Herford.*, 117.

[3] Ordinale Exoniense, in hoc loco.

[4] Ralph Barnes, *Liber Pontificalis of Edmund Lacy*, Exeter, 1847; p. 4.

[5] H. Bradshaw and Chr. Wordsworth, *Statutes* of *Lincoln Cathedral*, 1879; pt. ij, p. 333.

[6] When *Credo in unum Deum* is bygonne, they schal turne aȝene quyer to quyer, so knelyng down at thes wordes, *Et incarnatus*, and rysing up aȝene at *Et resurrexit* (G. J. Aungier, *History and antiquities of Syon Monastery*, London, 1840; p. 327).

Stephen's Day, 1552, Latimer[1] tells a story advocating the practice of genuflection at *and was made man.* This was two and a half years after the introduction of Edward VI.'s Prayer Book. But I doubt whether the general run of the uneducated laity took much notice of the creed in the sixteenth century, although they may have imitated the priest's actions. Those good folk who spy Erastianism in so many things will be glad to know how horribly erastian (according to their notions) this custom of genuflecting in the mass-creed is. We learn from the Life of St. Louis, king of France, by Geoffrey of Beaulieu,[2] that that monarch noticed a custom amongst certain religious that when *Credo in unum Deum* was sung, the choir bowed profoundly at *Et homo factus est* : which pleased him so much that he ordered the same to be observed both in the chapel royal and in many other churches, with the alteration that they were not only to bow but also to devoutly kneel at those words. He also from the same source brought the custom of kneeling at *emisit spiritum* or *expiravit* in the Passions into general use, and introduced it among the Blackfriars.

There is only the Lincoln rule[3] as a precedent for making the sign of the cross at the end of the mass-creed. Elsewhere in England it does not seem to have obtained. During the creed the priest was censed by the deacon, and kissed the text or book of the Gospels carried by the subdeacon ; and then the censer censed the choir, who also kissed the text after. The people, too, were censed in parish churches[4] on high days.

It has of late years been customary in some churches to omit the creed and *Gloria in excelsis* on certain occasions, or, where they have not ventured to do this, to recite them in monotone. Blind imitation of Rome could scarcely

[1] Hugh Latimer, *Sermons and remains,* Parker Society, 1845 ; p. 109.

[2] Daunon et Naudet, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France,* Paris, 1840 ; t. xx, p. 20.

[3] *Lincoln Statutes,* ij, 153.

[4] *British Magazine,* 1834 ; vj, 265. Chaucer, *The Milleres Tale,* ll. 3339 sq.

commit greater folly. Neither form part of the *norm* of the Roman Mass, as they do of ours. At Rome the creed came into use at solemn masses in the eleventh century at the instance[1] of the emperor Henry (more Erastianism). *Gloria in excelsis* was brought in earlier, about 500 A.D., but until the eleventh century, at any rate, its use was limited[2] to bishops, except on Easter Day. With us it was otherwise ; and the church of Bethelem to Durandus' disgust[3] used to recite *Gloria in excelsis* even in Masses for the departed.

The bidding of Bedes, i.e., asking the prayers of the faithful for certain persons or objects, and giving of notices should always be from the pulpit, as directed by the Sarum rubric[4] for parish churches.

It is customary to read one of the exhortations from the pulpit after the sermon. Now this may be obeying the letter of the rubric, but surely it would be more conformable to the spirit thereof if it were read at mattins or evensong ; for the rubric certainly supposes that no celebration will follow immediately on the reading of either

[1] Possumus simili modo post evangelium symbolum reticere, quod romani usque ad haec tempora divae memoriae Henrici imperatoris, nullo modo cecinerunt. . . . At dominus imperator non antea desiit, quam omnium consensu id domino Benedicto apostolico persuasit, ut ad publicam missam illud decantarent (Bernonis Augiensis abbatis *Libellus de quibusdam rebus ad missae officium pertinentibus*, cap. ij, in Melchior Hittorp, *De divinis catholicae ecclesiae officiis*, Paris, 1610 ; coll. 700, 701). See A. Krazer's dissertation in his book *De . . . Liturgiis*, Augustae Vindelicorum, 1786 ; pp. 447–456.

[2] Walafrid Strabonis *Liber de rebus ecclesiasticis*, cap. xxij., in Hittorp *edit. cit.* 681. He says *in summis festivitatibus et a solis episcopis usurparetur :* Martène cites an old rubric from the gregorian sacramentary which adds to this the permission for presbyters to use it at Easter only (*De ant. Eccl. Rit.*, Lib. 1 : cap. iv : art. iij: n. vj ; t. j, col. 366). Micrologus in the eleventh century assumes that all priests said it (*de ecclesiasticis observationibus*, cap. 46, in Hittorp, *edit. cit.* 758 sq.) : but Berno, who died in 1045, does not know anything of their doing so (*Libellus de rebus ad Miss. spect.* cap. ij, in Hittorp, *op. cit.*, 699).

[3] *Rationale*, Lib. iv : cap. xiii : n. 7 : Episcopus tamen Bethleemitanus, ex abusu, omni die, et omni Missa, et pro defunctis *Gloria in excelsis* decantat, pro eo quod hymnus ille Luca testante, primo in Bethleemitana regione cantatus est.

[4] *Missale Sarum* 39**

exhortation, and it is designed to reach those folk who do not frequent mass, rather than those who are regular attendants.

The collection of alms, and the offertory, call for no special remark. No educated person, of course, would speak of the gathering in of money as the offertory. That term is applied to the setting of the elements on the altar, and to the anthem sung the while. When there is to be a communion the priest now sets the oblations on the corporas cloth lying on the altar, the paten resting before the chalice on which the other corporas lies folded. It is a purely Roman practice to prepare the oblations here. At this point in the service the priest used to cense the oblations with the assistance of the deacon, after which he went to the lavatory *(piscina)*, and washed his hands, the subdeacon and others assisting, while the deacon censed the left half of the altar above, and then the whole of it all round. This took place after the prayer *Suscipe Sancta Trinitas*, which is represented in our service by a part of the prayer for the Church.

Now begins the great eucharistic prayer, or rather series of prayers, which we sometimes call the Canon, or better, Anaphora. In our present rite this is Gallican, and not Roman, in form, having *Sanctus* in the midst of it. There are interruptions in the shape of the Confession, Absolution, and Comfortable Words, and of the Prayer of Humble Access.

The prayer for the Church Militant begins the Anaphora. It will be recited by the priest standing in the midst of the altar, with his hands joined, as far as *for all men*. The next clause is the offertory prayer, and as he said this he took the chalice, with the paten on it, and without its corporas, in both hands and slightly raised it. After *Thy Divine Majesty* he will set it down again, put the paten before the chalice, covering the former with the corporas that lies spread on the altar, and the chalice with the other one. In the middle ages the hosts were laid in front of the chalice, the paten being put under the

corporas to the right of the priest, or given to the patener to hold. What follows in the prayer for the Church belongs to the canon, and therefore according to the English rubrics[1] must be said with joined hands. At Rome[2] the hands are extended for the most part.

From *Ye that do truly* to the end of the Comfortable Words should be said without note. There is neither reason nor precedent for singing any part of this, and no authority in any English rite for the priest's making the sign of the Cross over the people in the Absolution. The Confession is to be said "by one of the ministers." According to the old rubrics,[3] the bishop, if present, ought to say it, otherwise the celebrant; and the same applies to the saying of the Absolution.

At *Lift up your hearts*, the priest raised his hands, so keeping them until he began *Sanctus*, when he joined them again. It is an ancient custom to make the sign of the Cross at the words *In the name of the Lord* in *Benedictus*. One may mention that in medieval rites *Sanctus* and *Benedictus* are two parts of the same hymn. It is worse than stupid to divide them by the Prayer of Humble Access, when the reason given is that it gives opportunity for the interpolation of part of the Roman canon into our Gallican Anaphora, between that prayer and the Prayer of Consecration.

Whether *Benedictus* with its two Hosannas is a convenient anthem to sing at this liturgical moment is another matter. It is possible that it was originally sung to greet the bishop as he entered to sing mass, at the point called the Little Entrance in the Byzantine rite: it still is used there in the present Liturgy of St. Chrysostom. It must be admitted that it does not join on well to *Sanctus*. The Clementine Liturgy and those of the Egyptian rite do not add it at this point.

[1] Manibus iunctis et elevatis oculis (*Missale Sarum*, 610. *Missal. Eborac.* i, 181, 182. *Missale Herford.*, 127).

[2] *Missale Romanum, Ritus celebrandi missam*, VIII, i.

[3] *Vetus Registrum Sarisberiense*, Rolls Series, 1883; vol. i, p. 146.

After kneeling for the Prayer of Humble Access, which is said with hands joined, like *In spiritu humilitatis*, the priest rises and stands "before" the altar and begins the Consecration Prayer, with hands still joined. As far as *the sins of the whole world* it corresponds to the prayer *Memento Domine*, after which the priest may pray mentally for all for whom prayers are specially asked. The clause *Hear us, O Merciful Father* down to *Body and Blood* resembles *Quam oblationem*, and the priest would make the sign of the Cross over the breads and the chalice at the words *Bread and Wine* and *Body and Blood.*

The old *Qui pridie* is replaced by *Who, in the same night*: just about this time it was customary to ring a little bell to warn the faithful of the near approach of the sacring. At the words *He brake it* our rubric directs that the bread be broken.

In the manuscript Sarum massbook dated about 1290 formerly belonging to Lord Crawford, there is a rubric at this point directing a sign of fraction of the host (*hic faciat signum fractionis dicendo* fregit). About 1385 John de Burgo,[1] Chancellor of Cambridge University, comments on the word *fregit* here occurring, and in this wise: *non est hic signum fractionis in hostia sicut quidam faciunt*, it is not a direction to break the host here, as some do. In the fifteenth century manuscript of the York massbook[2] at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, it is directed that the priest shall touch the host without any show of breaking, *hic tanget hostiam sine aliquo signo fractionis.* The Sarum Manual[3] of 1554 is even more emphatic: *Hic non debet tangi hostia, modo fractionis, sicut aliqui fatui tangunt et male faciunt*, here he ought not to touch the host by way of breaking it, as some fools do, and do badly. Nor was the practice of making a fraction here confined

[1] *Pupilla oculi*, pars iv: cap. ix: Argentinae, 1514: ol. 29 *verso.*

[2] *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis*, Surtees Society, 1874; vol. i, p. 84.

[3] *Missale Sarum*, 616, *note* i.

to England. De Vert[1] has pointed out the existence of this ceremony in many other uses. The Carmelites (in the old massbook of their Order) press the host lightly as if to break it with the two first fingers of the right hand, and the Charterhouse monks do much the same thing. The massbook of Chartres has in 1489, *Simulat fractionem*, let him seem to break it, of Paris of the same date, *Frangat modicum*, let him break it slightly. *Fingat frangere*, let him feign to break it, says the Langres massbook of 1517. *Facit signum frangendi*, he makes a show of breaking it, is the rubric of the massbook of Essôme in 1547. *Cancellet eam modicum cum dextra, non frangendo*, says the Coutances massbook of 1557, let him crack it slightly with his right hand, without breaking it. *Faciat tantum signum frangendi inferius hostiam, non tamen frangat eam*, is found in the massbook of Troyes in 1580, with which agrees that of Reims in 1512 and the breviary of 1572: that is, the priest makes a show of breaking the host, without actually breaking it. However, in a Reims massbook printed some years before this breviary we have definitely, *Frangit modicum*, he breaks it slightly.

These facts prove that breaking the bread before the words of Institution was not an innovation of the Revisers of 1661, but a medieval custom. Secondly, they show that it was an early practice which, as time went on, was gradually given up, at any rate as the authorized practice. Contemporaneously with the growing disapproval of this fraction arose the practice of elevating the host immediately after the words of Institution. So that it is highly probable that fraction at this place was gradually given up because it was thought unseemly and perhaps awkward to elevate a broken obley.

I owe this interpretation of the evidence to Dr. Wickham Legg, who also points out to me that the Canons before the fourteenth century were provided with very few rubrics, so that we could hardly expect to find much

[1] *Claude de Vert, Explication . . . des Cérémonies de l'Eglise*, Paris, 1706; t. j, pp. 158, 226, 245 sq.

evidence of a fraction at this moment in such documents.

After the consecration of the bread came the levation of the host, or the sacring. Then the priest uncovers the chalice with his left hand, and, holding it in both, continues *Likewise after supper.*

After the consecration of the chalice it was elevated, but not so high as the host. The levation of the chalice[1] is of much later introduction than that of the host, and has not even yet been adopted by the Charterhouse monks. During the words of institution relating to both species the priest lays his right hand on the element he is hallowing: and immediately after those words the priest used to breathe[2] on the host or chalice, apparently to symbolize the action of the Holy Ghost. The idea was, perhaps, derived from the similar action of the bishop in hallowing the oils and the cream on Maundy Thursday. We chiefly hear about it from the frequent scoffing allusions to the practice in puritan writings. One of the "cautels" of the Hereford massbook[3] may here be quoted: "The assistants shall never prostrate themselves during the Canon, but stand and attend to what is being done." After the elevation of the chalice it is set down on the altar, and covered with the corporas as before. It was a universal English custom[4] to hold lighted torches at the

[1] Dominic Soto says on this: quod ergo ad elevationem calicis attinet, veritas est, quod mos ipsum elevandi non est antiquus. Quare apud neminem eorum, qui de caeremonijs missae scripserunt, mentio eius habetur. Vnde omnium antiquorum nuperrimus Alexander de elevatione tantum corporis loquitur (*Commentariorum tomus primus*, Salmanticae, 1569; p. 151.

[2] William Tindal, *Doctrinal Treatises*, Parker Society, 1848; pp. 247–8. Thomas Becon, *Prayers, &c.*, Parker Society, 1844; pp. 261, 270, 274, 275, 362. G. Burnet, *History of the Reformation*, Ed. Pocock, Oxford, 1865; vol. v, pp. 243, 309. Nicholas Ridley, *Works*, Parker Society, 1841; p. 319. John Hooper, *Later Writings*, Parker Society, 1852; p. 128. *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, Camden Society, 1850; p. 18. Parkhurst, 1561 (n. 4) in *Second Report of Ritual Commission*, 1868; p. 401. Grindal, 1571 (n. 4), *ibid.*, p. 408. Edmund Grindal, *Remains*, Parker Society 1843; pp. 124, 159.

[3] *Missale Herford.*, xxxiv.

[4] See *Some Principles and Services of the Prayer Book*, Ed. J. W. Legg, London, 1899; pp. 17 sq.

sacring, and at Exeter[1] and Chichester[2] incense was burned.

Overall and others[3] used to recite the Prayer of Oblation immediately after the Consecration Prayer, and it were well if it were done now. There is nothing to prevent it. It corresponds—First, to the old *Unde et Memores*. The posture ordered by all the English and numerous foreign uses was for the priest to spread out his arms *in modo crucifixi*, as at Milan and among the Blackfriars and elsewhere to-day, reminding himself and the people of the Sacrifice on the Cross, of which the Eucharist is the representation. Secondly, to *Supplices te rogamus*, from *Humbly beseeching Thee*: all over England and a great part of the continent, while this prayer was being said, the priest bowed over the altar, with his arms crossed over his breast. Thirdly, to *Nobis quoque peccatoribus*, from *And although we be unworthy*, at which he used to strike his breast once. Fourthly, to *Per ipsum*, from *By whom*: as he said these words he uncovered the chalice, and made a number of crosses with the host over it.

The fraction of the host into three parts took place after the Lord's Prayer and embolism, which followed next in the Latin rites of this country. In the later English uses it was made over the chalice, in the earlier over the paten. Still holding the fragments, he said *Agnus Dei*, and then made the commixture, dropping the smallest fragment into the chalice. The kiss of peace, by means of the paxbrede, followed, the priest kissing the corporas and then the chalice, and afterwards the paxbrede, which was carried round to all the faithful to kiss.[4] Then, after three or four private prayers, the priest communicated himself and then the people: the deacon ministering

[1] Ordinale exoniense, *in hoc loco*.

[2] *Archaeologia*, 1877; xlv, 212.

[3] John Cosin, *Works*, Oxford, 1855; v, 114. *Cny*. T. Wilson, *Sacra Privata*, Oxford, 1840; pp. 92–3.

[4] Chaucer, *The persones Tale, De Superbia*, 2nd paragraph.

to them with the chalice since 1548. According to the old rubrics,[1] the subdeacon ought to assist the priest whenever he turns to the people, and arrange his chasuble ; so that it would be right for him to hold it back off his right arm when the priest communicated the people. The only place where I have seen this done is at St. Alban's, Holborn.

After the Communion the consecrated elements are taken back to the altar, and the chalice re-covered with the smaller corporas as before, and the paten with that lying on the altar. Unfortunately, the rubrics do not allow of an immediate cleansing of the chalice after the old custom : one would then be sure that it was never forgotten. The people then sing the Lord's Prayer after the priest, who stands as before in the midst of the altar. If the Prayer of Oblation has been duly said before, the post-communion Collect (or Collects) naturally follow, prefaced of old by *Dominus vobiscum* and *Oremus* : anciently it was said at the right or south corner of the altar. *Gloria in excelsis Deo* was always intoned by the priest from the midst of the altar and finished at the right corner, as the Blackfriars still do. The Carthusian monks and Carmelite friars say the whole of it (and the Kyries) at the right corner of the altar. It is common nowadays to say both Collect and Gloria in the midst, on account of the Blessed Sacrament being still on the altar. This, however, is no valid reason ; for in the old days the Eucharist was hanging over the high altar throughout the mass, and yet both were said at the right corner. Old English rubrics order bowing at *We worship Thee*, and at *Receive our prayer*, and that folk bow and sign themselves at *in the glory of God the Father*. At Wells[2] the choir used to be censed during this hymn on the highest festivals, as at Rouen.[3] But then *Gloria in excelsis* was at the beginning of the mass.

[1] *Missale Sarum*, 8 (note).
[2] H. E. Reynolds, *Wells Cathedral*, Leeds, 1881 ; p. 10.
[3] De Moleon, *Voyages Liturgiques*, Paris, 1757 ; p. 363.

No directions are given as to which way the priest is to stand for the Blessing, but obviously, as the whole thing is addressed to the people, he ought to turn to them throughout. In spite of the Lincoln Judgment,[1] there is abundant evidence for the use of the blessing after mass, and making the sign of the cross over the people, long before 1549. As far back as Aelfric we read in his homily[2] on *The Holy Rood's Upheaving*, "though the man wave wonderfully with hand, yet be it not the blessing, but he work token of the holy rood," and he goes on to say that it must be made with three fingers. All through the middle ages this was the only way. The cautels in the English massbooks say, "He shall join three fingers as often as he makes the sign of the cross, and compose the other two within his hand." Blessing, and making the sign of the cross, were, in fact, synonymous terms. The earliest distinct reference to the blessing after mass in secular churches that I can recall is in the poem called "The Pricke of Conscience," written about 1345 A.D. There we are told of ten things that do away with venial sins, and amongst the ten is[3]

> Benison or priest that given is,
> Namely [i.e., specially] in the end of the Mass.

And from that time onwards allusions[4] to the practice

[1] *Read and others v. the Lord Bishop of Lincoln*, London, 1890 ; p. 84.

[2] *Legends of the Holy Rood*, E.E.T.S., 1871 ; p. 105.

[3] R. Morris, *Hampole's Pricke of Conscience*, Berlin, 1863 ; p. 93.

[4] *Officium Eveshamensis Abbatis*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1893 ; col. 4, 9, 16. Chaucer, *The Persones Tale*, in *Penitentiae pars secunda*, at the end. *Song of Roland*, l. 586, printed with *The Sege off Melayne*, E.E.T.S., extra series, 1880 ; p. 123. Lindewode, *Provinciale*, Lib. iii. : tit. *De celeb. miss.* : cap. *Presbyteri stipendarij*, pars iij : verb. *Maioris missae*. *Myrroure o, Oure Ladye*, E.E.T.S., extra series, 1873 ; pp. 331–2. *Lay Folk's Mass Book*, E.E.T.S., 1879 ; p. 117. *Book of Ceremonies* in J. Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, London, 1816 ; vj, 184. T. Becon, *Catechism*, Parker Society, 1844 ; p. 238. *Prayers*, Parker Society, 1844 ; pp. 268, 362. James Pilkington, *Works*, Parker Society, 1842 ; p. 259. John Bradford, *Writings*, Parker Society, 1853 ; p. 316. *Cnf.* Roger Hutchinson, *Works*, Parker Society, 1842 ; p. 226. W. Tindal, *Doctrinal Treatises*, Parker Society, 1848 ; p. 258.

and to the use of the sign of the cross over the people become increasingly common. The bishop should wear his mitre, and hold his crozier in his left hand, when he blesses the people. Formerly he blessed them just before the Communion.[1]

After the Blessing the priest is directed reverently to consume what remains of the consecrated elements. The medieval methods varied in the number of rinsings, and the matter of them. In the fifteenth and following centuries there were generally three. Lindewode[2] says that the first should be directly into the chalice, and, that having been swallowed by the priest, the second should be over the priest's fingers, to wash off any crumbs that might perchance be adhering, into the chalice, and that both of these ought to be of wine only : and that the third should be into the chalice, and of water only ; but the rubrics vary much. After taking the ablutions the priest went to the lavatory (*piscina*) and washed his hands.

The duty of folding up the corporas-cloths, putting them in their case, and of finishing the cleansing of the chalice and drying it, pertains to the deacon or gospeller ; or to the clerk, if there is only one minister.

A practice has become common amongst us of reciting the first fourteen verses of St. John's Gospel[3] after the celebration. It arose during the middle ages, and the first time that we hear of it is to find it strictly forbidden by a Council held in 1022 at Seligstadt near Mainz. A century or so later we find the archdeacon Gerald de Barry condemning it as new, uncanonical, and arising from the avarice of the clergy. The laity used to make special offerings after the recital of *In principio*, in the belief that

H. Latimer, *Works*, Parker Society, 1844 ; p. 301. W. Tindal, *Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*, Parker Society, 1850 ; p. 8.

[1] W. Maskell, *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England*, Oxford, 1882 ; pp. 252, 258. *Liber Pontificalis of Edmund Lacy*, Exeter, 1847 ; p. 4.

[2] Lindewode, *Provinciale*, Lib. iii : tit. *De celeb. miss.* : cap. *Ad excitandos* : verb. *Digitis superfusum*.

[3] See *Trans. St. Paul's Eccles. Soc.*, 1900 ; iv, 161 sq., for some account of this devotion and its peculiar origin.

hearing it prevented epilepsy and kept away ghosts and goblins, and so on! After some time it got into the English massbooks, and then into the Roman and other continental ones. Our rubrics directed the priest to recite it on his way back to the vestry, and that custom still prevailed in France in the eighteenth century. But at low masses, as he vested and unvested at the altar, the priest recited it there, and there is a good deal of evidence showing that the same usage obtained in England at high masses in connection with public functions.

When mass was over the priest and his assistants retired in the same order in which they approached the altar.

I have referred to the cautels of the mass. There are several that concern ceremonial, which are worth calling to remembrance. The priest must stand erect, and not loll on the altar. His elbows should be kept close to his sides, and when he is directed to raise his hands (as at the Collect) it should be so done that only the tips of his fingers appear above his shoulders. In making the sign of the cross he should be careful to make crosses, and not circles, and high enough not to upset the chalice. He should read the Canon more slowly than the rest, and specially the words of consecration, or rather, institution. In praying for people by name in the Canon let him avoid too great a number, lest the thoughts of himself and others be distracted. Although mass ought to be celebrated with the utmost devotion and reverence, it should be so done that it may seem neither too protracted nor too hurried; for hurry is a mark of carelessness, and dragging a cause of distraction. A rubric that appears in all the English books and many French ones is the following: "And always when the priest stands during mass, the deacon shall stand immediately behind him on the next step, and the subdeacon immediately behind the deacon on the second step. And whenever the priest turns to the people, the deacon shall turn likewise, while the subdeacon, kneeling, shall adjust the priest's chasuble."

A very common case is that there are only two clergy in holy orders in the parish, and the question arises, Can there be a high celebration? The answer is, Certainly, if English customs are our guides, for the part of the epistoler can, and ought to be taken by the parish-clerk, or one of them if there are several. He can wear just the same ornaments as would be worn by a clerk in holy order. Even the Roman[1] rule allows that, except that he is forbidden the fanon or maniple. But in medieval days even choir-boys[2] wore fanons on some occasions. In France[3] young laymen used to act as deacon and sub-deacon and wore the vestments, until the S. R. C. forbad it by a decree dated 11 September 1847. But I believe that the practice still continues.

A few words about the occasional services may not be out of place.

No part whatever of the Baptismal Service should be omitted. The response, *Glory be to Thee, O Lord*, should be made after the announcement of the Gospel, the people signing themselves in the accustomed manner. The sign of the cross should be made over the water at the word *sanctify* in the form for blessing the water. The ornaments of the minister are a surplice, or else a sleeveless rochet,[4] and a stole. There is no English authority for changing either the stole or its colour during the service, as is ordered in the modern Roman use. Red was the colour at solemn baptisms[5] on Easter Even and Whitsun Eve, but at other times I expect that any old stole was used. It is interesting, however, to notice that the priest is depicted wearing a *red* stole in the represen-

[1] Le Vavasseur, *Cérémonial selon le rit romain, App. à la IV^me^ parte, n.* 3, Paris, 1857; pp. 281–2. In the preceding section it is pointed out that the S. R. C. permits "missa cantata" with lights and incense only in those churches where it cannot be suppressed (resp. S. C. 28 Sept. 1854).

[2] De Moléon, *Voyages Liturgiques*, Paris, 1757; pp. 63 (Lyons) 150 (choir boys of Cluny for High mass).

[3] Le Vavasseur, *op. cit.*, pp. 281–2 note.

[4] Lindewode, *Provinciale*, Lib. iii: tit. *De ecclesijs edificandis*: cap. *Ut parrochiani*: verb. *Rochetum*.

[5] *Missale Sarum*, 348, 350, 422.

tation of a baptism on the font in the church at great Witchingham, Norfolk,[1] and on the parclose of the north side of the choir at Carlisle.

At Confirmations the clergy should respectfully, yet firmly, resist the ignorance and "lawlessness" of bishops who would interpolate a metrical hymn between the form, *Almighty and everlasting God*, and the matter, i.e., the laying-on of hands. A few years ago the question of altar lights at this service was much agitated, owing to the indiscretion of an East-Anglian vicar. Many confirmations before 1549 were in the open air, and often the bishop sat on horseback[2] the while. But at solemn confirmations immediately after baptism there were the two lights carried by the taperers, and a number of lighted torches held by bystanders, which were lit as soon as the child was put into the font.[3] On Easter Even and Whitsun Eve there were apparently two lights on the altar, the Pascall, and the taperers' two lights, and the officiant wore a red silk cope.

At Weddings the priest was vested as for mass, but without his chasuble; and to-day, when the Eucharist accompanies a wedding, he should do the same. Otherwise surplice and stole would seem to suffice. The colour was that used at the votive mass *de Trinitate* which followed. In the representation on the font at Great Witchingham it is green.[4] The man and woman stand in the body of the church—not in the porch, as the old rubric had it—the man on the woman's right, the woman on the man's left. If the ring had not been blessed before, the priest blessed it when the man laid it on the book. In putting it on the woman's left hand—it used to be the right, but Cranmer's German astrologer influenced him to make the alteration which the Romans[5] have

[1] Alfred C. Fryer, *On Fonts with representations of the seven sacraments, Archaeological Journal*, 1902; lix, 21.

[2] *e.g. Magna Vita S. Hugonis*, Rolls Series, 1864; p. 140.

[3] See *Some Principles and Services of the Prayerbook*, 24, 25.

[4] A. C. Fryer, *op. cit.*, 32.

[5] *Rituale Romanum Pauli V Pontificis Maximi iussu editum*, Mechliniae, 1870; p. 288.

since followed too—the man places it on the thumb at *of the Father*, the index finger at *of the Son*, the third finger at *of the Holy Ghost*, and the fourth finger at *Amen*, where he leaves it. A psalm, *Beati omnes*, is said during the procession up to the altar, and formerly the man and woman each held a lighted candle in many places.[1] The man and woman kneel at the altar step and certain prayers are said over them, the sign of the cross being made at the words *bless* and *sanctify*, wherever they occur. Then, in the old rites, followed the votive mass of the Holy Trinity, during which the man and woman were directed to stand on the right side of the church, at the presbytery or sedilia, the woman on the right of the man, i.e., between him and the altar. A rubric[2] notes that if they are censed it must be with unblest incense, for the clergy and people must never be censed with incense that has been blest. At the offertory they offered their candles. After the *Sanctus* the couple came before the altar and there knelt at the step, while four clerks in surplices held the care-cloth over them, unless one of them had been married before. This was removed before the Kiss of Peace, which was given to the man direct by the priest, and then the man gave it direct to the woman and no other. This ceremony still survives—in a much modified form.

The Burial Service is a reformed version partly of the *Dirge*, and partly of the ancient Burial Service itself. The priest and clerks meet the corpse at the entrance of the churchyard, at the lych-gate. The procession sets out with the cross, then the tapers, and then the incense. The subdeacon, deacon, and priest follow next, all in girded albs,[3] if there is going to be the Eucharist ; if not, the priest need wear only a surplice and hood, and a stole

[1] *Some Principles*, 26, and note i.

[2] *Missale Sarum*, 838.* Durandus, *Rationale Divin. Offic.*, Lib. iv : cap. viij : num. 2. Lindewode, *Provinciale*, Lib. v : tit. *De hereticis* : cap. *Nullus quoque* : verb. *Thurificacionibus.*

[3] Frere, *Use of Sarum*, j, 206. *Vetus Registrum Sarisberiense*, j, 144.

if the grave is to be blessed. Then follow the choir, first the boys, and then the men. On meeting the body the priests used to cense it, and the procession then returned to the church, the corpse being set down outside the quire if of a laic, inside if of a clerk. But in either case the feet were placed towards the East, and the head to the West. The modern Roman fashion of reversing that order in the case of priests or deacons, appears to be an innovation[1] of Master John Burchardt, the Pope's pagan master of ceremonies at the end of the fifteenth century, a bishop *supra omnes bestias bestialissimus*.[2]

Lights[3] used to be set round the corpse during the service—two, three, four, or five; sometimes, though rarely, six. The earliest use of six in England[4] after 1559 was at the funeral of James I, when six Spanish candlesticks were set around his corpse. Sometimes a very great number were set on the hearse. According to the use of Sarum, the deacon censed the corpse three times during the mass, at the Office, before the Gospel, and at the Offertory. If mass is celebrated, it should follow the Lesson.

The priest, not a bystander, used to cast the earth in the form of a cross on the body, when it was put into the grave, and there was a good deal of censing.

This concludes our short survey of the chief ceremonies which prevailed before 1549, and which may conveniently be used at the present time by all who wish to maintain the ceremonies of the Church of England in their integrity.

[1] See for its novelty an eminent Roman catholic writer, Daniel Rock, *Church of our Fathers*, London, 1849; vol. ij, note on pp. 474–5.

[2] *Il Diario di Leone X di Paridi di Crassi*, Ed. Armellini, Rome, 1884; p. 96.

[3] See *Some Principles and Services*, pp. 26, 27.

[4] J. Nichols, *The progresses, processions, and magnificent festivities of King James the First*, London, 1828; vol. iv, p. 1039.

On some Ancient Liturgical Customs now falling into Disuse

BY DR. J. WICKHAM LEGG, F.R.C.P., F.S.A.

INTRODUCTION

This paper was read some sixteen years ago before St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society, and it would have been easy to have expanded its theses and given more abundant evidence for the position taken up in 1887. But it has been thought better to reprint the paper unaltered, adding only a few notes in square brackets, which time has made desirable.—J. W. L.

On some Ancient Liturgical Customs now falling into Disuse

BY DR. J. WICKHAM LEGG, F.R.C.P., F.S.A.

Read before St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society on October 27, 1887.

The Jubilee that we have just been celebrating has caused many thoughtful people to look back and note the changes that have taken place in the studies and employments in which they are interested. Wherever there has been change there must be loss as well as gain. Now, in ecclesiology, I need not speak of what we have gained ; that was pointed out to us some years ago by Mr. Beresford-Hope, whose death all liturgical students are now deploring. But I do not know if any one have called attention to what we have lost. If I do this, I must run the risk of being called a pessimist, one of those pestilent fellows who declare that since 1789 there has been no progress, but only a return to barbarism. But though the process of retrospection be unpopular, yet it is nevertheless, I believe, very wholesome. It is analogous to the practice by the individual of self-examination, a habit recommended in all ages by all moralists. It hints to us a doubt of the pleasant dream that as the world grows older it is sure to be growing better ; that progress is, in fact, a law of nature. If we may pass for a moment from ecclesiology to natural knowledge, we see that in biology the latest outcome of progress is that in a few

generations man will become a toothless, hairless, sightless creature, an easy prey to his enemies, the lower animals, that surround him. Or if the physiologists be discredited as too uncertain of their facts, we may call in the mathematicians, who from the days of Sextus Empiricus have proved a hard nut for the sceptics, to show us that, sooner or later, this earth must fall into the sun, that the universe will, little by little, become of one uniform temperature, and, therefore, as all heat is lost, so all life and motion will cease. What progress can there be when all life, heat, and movement have ceased in cosmos? The truth is that men have mistaken for progress the tendency of the age in which they live; but this tendency in no way indicates the direction in which the universe is moving. "A creature whose sphere of vision is a speck, whose experience is a second, sees the pencil of Raphael moving over the canvas of the Transfiguration. It sees the pencil moving over its own speck, during its own second of existence, in one particular direction; and it concludes that the formula expressing that direction is the secret of the whole."[1]

In looking back over the ritual changes which the last fifty years have brought, we shall find that many ancient liturgical practices, both good and bad, are now falling into disuse. Not that I hold that all are excellent in themselves because they are old. One, the first which we shall consider, has nothing to recommend it but its antiquity. Others, unfortunately, have been displaced from mere love of change; a force always at work, and in this century more than usually active. Under this heading may be put the turning out of old English practices, to make way for foreign customs, alien often to the genius and structure of our Common Prayer Book, or even to common sense, and nearly always hideous in themselves. And I think I may say there is next to no inquiry made as to the antiquity or reasonableness of

[1] Goldwin Smith, *The Study of History*, Two Lectures, Oxford, 1861, p. 49.

any of these new practices. They have only to be adopted in some prominent church for them to be set up as a note of Catholicity.[1] As an instance of the harm that is done: a Roman Catholic gentleman, an accomplished ritualist, and well disposed to the Church of England, visited a well-known church in London. He returned saying that he had now given up all wish for the future Union of the Churches, as the Anglicans had taken over so many of the follies and superstitions that the more intelligent members of the Church of Rome were trying to be rid of.

I.—Setting the Bread and Wine on the Holy Table before the Beginning of the Service.

Some of us looking back to the days of our youth may remember a practice, still, perhaps, kept up in some remote parish churches, of setting on the Altar, before the service began, the bread and wine intended for the Eucharist.[2] Such a practice can only be followed in defiance of the rubric printed in the Common Prayer Book immediately before the prayer for the Church Militant. Yet it is a practice, not of the very highest, but of high antiquity, and would appear to be a survival of a wide-spread pre-Reformation ceremony.

In the earliest descriptions of the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, apart from those in the New Testament,

[1] In looking over the pages of the great French Ritualists, J. B. Thiers, Bocquillot, Le Brun Desmarettes, and Claude de Vert, one can almost imagine that one is reading by anticipation the history of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. They deplore the new customs of their time, *l'amour de la mode*, which determines everything, especially with the nuns and young ladies, to whom many of these liturgical customs are attributed.

[2] [I regret to say that this practice is growing again. A certain set of clergymen, even where credence tables are close at hand, set the bread and wine on the right-hand side of the altar before the service begins, and at the offertory they make the chalice, leaving the residue of the bread and wine on the altar. It is impossible to say with certainty whether that which remains on the altar shares in the consecration or not. The practice is apparently adopted solely to save time and trouble, motives which can only have influence with the slovenly and the careless.]

we find, at the beginning of the *Missa Fidelium*, and after the expulsion of the catechumens, a moment at which bread and a cup of wine, mingled with water, were brought into the assembly of the faithful, and set on the Altar. For convenience sake, I would call this ceremonial setting of the bread and wine on the Holy Table the Offertory, not the anthem or words said by the celebrant, but a manual act of him or his ministers. Most of the ancient liturgies of Christendom place the Offertory at the same point in the service ; now it is preceded or followed by the recitation of the Nicene Creed, but the normal place of the Offertory, it will be allowed, is at the beginning of the *Missa Fidelium*, and not before.

But by the twelfth century there had appeared in Western Christendom the fashion of making the Offertory quite early in the service. It spread widely, and the practice may be found in German, French, and Spanish Missals, as well as in the service books of the White, Grey, and Black Friars, and the White Monks, and German Black Monks, as well as in many others.

At High Mass this Offertory took place in many Churches and Orders between the Epistle and the Gospel. It is so to this day in the Dominican Rite ; and was so formerly in the Franciscan Rite, and at Paris, Rouen, and Bordeaux in France ; Toledo and Palencia in Spain ; Augsburg and Freising in Germany ; and many other Churches.

The preparation of the chalice (that is, the mixing of the wine and water in the chalice) we know took place at this point in the Sarum High Mass,[1] and also at Lincoln,[2] and there are traces of the same practice among the Canons of St. Augustine from Sienna.[3]

[1] *Missale Sarum.* Burntisland, 1861–1883, col. 587.

[2] *Consuetudinarium Ecclesie Lincoln.* Ed. Wordsworth and Reynolds, 1885, p. 13.

[3] *Ordinarium Fratrum Canonicorum Regularium Congregationis S. Salvatoris Ordinis S. Augustini*, Romae, apud Antonium Bladum, 1549. Capp. xxxix. and xli.

The White Monks had their Offertory at High Mass before the *Gloria in excelsis* or the Collects.[1] And the same thing was done by the Black Monks throughout Germany.

At Low Mass, even in the same Churches, the Offertory usually came a good deal earlier. In the Mozarabic Liturgy, as practised to-day, it comes after the *Confiteor*, and before the introit; but this is no part, I think, of the original rite, but is a borrowing from the rite of Toledo. It was made at this place at Calahorra in Spain, at Tours, even at High Mass,[2] probably at this moment at Colen,[3] certainly before the Gospel.[4] But the favourite place for the Offertory at Low Mass was either as soon as the priest approached the altar, supposing he vested in the vestry; or even before he vested, when he took his vestments direct from the altar.

Of this first we have an instance at the Dominican Low Mass, of which any one may now convince himself by a visit to a Dominican Chapel, and it was also practised in the sixteenth century by the rival friars, the Franciscans,[5] and also by the Carmelites.

Of the second practice of preparing the chalice even before the priest took the ornaments from the altar there is ample proof at Paris, Angers, Auxerre, Chalons-sur-Marne, Autun, with Norman Churches like Coutances, Bec, and Rouen.[6]

[1] *Consuetudines*, cap. liii. edited by Ph. Guignard, *Les Monuments primitifs de la Règle cistercienne*, Dijon, 1878, p. 142.

[2] De Moleon [Le Brun Desmarettes], *Voyages liturgiques de France*, Paris, 1718, p. 116.

[3] The use of this old English word may seem affected, but I cannot bring myself to call a German town by a French name.

[4] *Missale Coloniense*, Paris, 1525. Sign. a. iiij. *b*.

[5] *Liber familiaris clericorum*, Venetiis, 1550, fol. 225, verso.

[6] The following are the authorities, not already quoted, on which I base my statements: *Missale ad usum ecclesie Parisiensis*, 1543. *Missale secundum usum insignis ecclesie Rothomagensis*, 1499. *Missale insignis ecclesie Burdigalensis*, 1563. *Missale mixtum secundum ordinem almae primatis ecclesie Toletanae*, 1551. *Missale Pallantinum*, 1568. *Directorium secundum ritum ecclesie et diocesis Frisingensis*, Venetiis, 1516. *Missale denuo diligentssiime castigatum et revisum ordinis S. Benedicti nigrorum monachorum per Germaniam*, 1517. *Missale secundum consuetudinem Calagurritanensis et Calci atensis ecclesiarum*, 1554. *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Andengavensis*, 1523.

Now, the customs of Rouen particularly concern us, because we know that the diocese of Lincoln, the largest diocese of England, adopted the customs of Rouen, and there is a persistent tradition that the rites of Sarum were modelled upon those of Rouen.[1] There would seem good evidence that the Norman rites deeply influenced our English customs; and though we have little rubrical record of the ceremonies of Low Mass in England, yet there seems to be some evidence that the custom of setting the bread and wine on the altar before the beginning of the service was as well known in England as in Normandy.[2] For example, there is a writer named Thomas Becon, scurrilous and obscene indeed, but as he served an English parish just before the Reformation, he may be taken as a good witness of the ceremonies of that time.[3] He says, evidently speaking of a Low Mass: "Ye come to the Altar with your Masse-book, Corporasse, Chalice, and Bread with such other trinkets."[4] And further on, speaking of the ceremonies between the Epistle and Gospel, he says: "Ye goe to the other end of the Altar to reade the Gospel. But first of all yee uncover the chalice, and look whether your drinke bee there or no, least you should chance to bee deceived, when the time of your repast come."[5]

Missale cunctis, sacerdotibus iuxta Constantiensis diocesis, etc., 1557. Martène, *de antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib. i. cap. iv. Art. xii.; Ordd. xxvi. and xxxvi.; and *Traité de la Messe*, Paris. 2e éd. 1714, p. 85, attributed to Grancolas.

[1] [It is true that there is a "persistent tradition"; but examination of the books themselves has not strengthened me in this opinion. See the liturgical introduction to the Westminster Missal, printed by the Henry Bradshaw Society, 1897, fasc. iii. pp. 1408–1434.]

[2] The acute writer of a series of excellent articles on the Credence in the *Ecclesiologist* (vii. and viii. volumes) thinks that at York the elements were "placed on the altar at some time before the offertory." (viii. 152.)

[3] [I am not now so disposed as I was to accept the unsupported evidence of Becon as to English custom.]

[4] Thomas Becon, *Displaying of the Popish Masse*, Lond. 1637, p. 101.

[5] Thomas Becon, *Displaying of the Popish Masse*, Lond. 1637, p. 118. Compare these words with a rubric of the Coutances Missal of 1557.

From this passage we learn that before the Reformation the bread was certainly brought in with the vessels at Low Mass, though it may be noticed that the same thing is done according to the present Roman rubrics ; but the wine (as the pleasant Becon so civilly calls it, "a spoonful of wine and two or three drops of water") was also on the altar before the Gospel was begun. As Becon makes no mention of any preparation of the chalice, it would seem not unlikely that the chalice already contained the wine and water when it was brought to the altar with the bread and corporas. Possibly, then, in England, at the time of the Reformation, people were accustomed to see the bread and wine put on the altar before the beginning of the service in parish churches, besides in those of the friars and of the monks. And, though in England we have no record of this act being done by any but the celebrant or his ministers before the Reformation ; yet, at Lyons, even as late as 1825, the elements were prepared, not by the deacon, as is usual, but by the *matricularius*,[1] a sort of sexton ; the preparation being called, at Lyons and many other places, the administration.

Now, this anticipation of the right time of the Offertory was happily forbidden by the first Book of Edward VI. The men who drew up this rite were excellent ritualists ; and the Offertory was put after the Creed and Gospel, and the chalice was also directed to be prepared at this moment.[2] But the Offertory, both name and

"Evangelium. Quod lecturus deferat librum ad sinistram partem altaris. Et visitet an sit vinum et aqua in calice discoperiendo *(sic)* calicem et levando patenam," etc. (Sign. + + iiij.)

[1] *Missale Lugdunense*, Lugduni, 1825. Ritus in missa solemni servandus. Cap. v. § 11.

[2] [The placing of the elements on the altar and the mixing of the chalice had become so united in their minds that they could not separate the two actions. But it is well that we should keep in view that the preparation of the elements is quite distinct from the offering of them, which takes place when they are set upon the altar. In all liturgies except the Roman, the preparation takes place some time before the setting of them on the altar. Only in the Roman liturgy, or liturgies influenced by Rome, is the chalice

thing, was taken away in 1552, and any direction as to the time at which the bread and wine should be set on the altar disappeared from our Prayer Book until the present rubric was inserted in 1662, before the prayer for the Church Militant. So that for over one hundred years there were no directions in the Prayer Book as to the time of setting the bread and wine on the Holy Table.

Now, it seems not unlikely that the old English custom of putting the bread and wine on the altar before the service began may have been restored in Queen Mary's time, with the Sarum Missal, and, in default of any definite direction in the Prayer Book, continued on to Charles II's reign ; and that then with the conservative instincts of the clergy, the new rubric may have been unheeded. And thus the old pre-Reformation, but unprimitive, practice may have come down to our own time, an unsuspected survival of the rites of Sarum.

II.—Oblation of the Bread and Wine after the Alms.

In the early Church, bread and wine were offered by the faithful at the altar as alms in kind ; and out of these the priest took a sufficiency for the celebration of the Eucharist. By little and little the custom crept in of substituting something wherewith to buy bread and wine. instead of offering bread and wine itself.[1] A trace of

mixed at the offertory. It is important to keep the two liturgical actions of preparation and of offering distinct. In England the best practice is to prepare both paten and chalice before the service, leave both at the credence covered with a linen veil, and at the offertory move them to the altar. See a paper of mine, a comparative study of the time in the Christian Liturgy at which the elements are prepared and set on the holy table, in the *Transactions of St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, 1895, vol iii. p. 49.]

[1] "A Country Parson," writing in the *Church Times* for September 2, 1887, p. 694, has made the excellent suggestion that the "oblations of bread and wine should be solemnly brought up the nave by the churchwardens." It would be a return to primitive usage, and avoid the necessity of the use of a credence, which appears in this country, at all events, to be Caroline in origin.

this custom of offering in kind may be found in the rubric at the end of the Communion Service of the Book of Common Prayer, which directs that "if any of the bread and wine remain unconsecrated, the Curate shall have it to his own use." The money, then, which is now collected at the Offertory, represents the offerings of bread and wine formerly made at this place: from which the Elements for the Eucharist were chosen. If, therefore, we are to preserve the ancient sequence of rites, the Eucharistic bread and wine should not be offered on the altar until after the representative of the bread and wine, from which they should be taken, shall be there. This is the order given in the Prayer Book, and it is also particularly insisted upon by the French Missals of the last century; but of late years this plain direction has been disregarded. We know perfectly well that the modern practice is said to save time, but we refuse to give this unworthy motive a moment's consideration. Possibly the change may spring from the love that some persons show of making everyone in church do different things at the same time. Here, for such persons, was an excellent chance, not often given in the Anglican Rite. The priest and his ministers could be setting the elements on the altar, the choir could be singing a hymn, the churchwardens collecting the money, while the faithful could give what attention was possible to the three different acts going on at the same time.

III.—Use of Red Wine in the Eucharist.

In the Roman Church[1] white wine is commonly used, while in England red, with almost universal consent, has

[1] See Gavantus, *Thesaurus Sacrorum Rituum*, Pars iii. Tit. iv. Aug. Vindel. 1763, t. i. p. 334. Observations by Merati, who quotes St. Charles Borromeo as prescribing white wine, so that the linen might not be stained. It would almost appear that if red wine only can be had, the celebrant may be excused from purifying himself with wine, because the purificator would thereby be stained. (Fab. de Albertis, *De Sacris Utensilibus*, cap. iii. § 173. Romae, 1783, i. 26.)

been used until quite lately. This English custom is of very great antiquity. Red wine was used at the Passover, and the remains of the Eucharistic wine found in the Catacombs show a red colour.[1] Mabillon tells us that red wine was more commonly ordered, not only because of its symbolical likeness, but because white wine could easily be mistaken for water.[2] Mabillon thinks there is a reference to the red colour of the Sacramental wine in St. Ambrose.[3] Red wine is also used among the Greeks.[4] There are numerous instances of local synods in the middle ages commanding the use of red wine, including one of the diocese of Sodor and Man in 1350. This orders red wine rather than white, though it admits white as lawful.[5] This is the opinion of John de Burgo, the great English writer on the Sacraments.[6] A good ritualist like Mr. Maskell speaks of "the old and much more suitable custom of consecrating red wine." From the rubrics at Sarum,[7] Hereford,[8] and Exeter,[9] it would seem likely that red wine was used in these churches; and in Carlisle we find it actually employed, for there is a "grant of two tonnes of red wyn by the hands of the chief buttelere of England, etc., for using divine observances."[10]

Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, who is well known for his

[1] Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, 1875, pp. 605 and 308.

[2] Mabillon, *de Liturgia Gallicana*, lib. i. cap. v. Luteciae Paris. 1685, p. 40.

[3] S. Ambrose *in Ps.* cxviii. *Expositio*, Sermo 14. § 2. Ed. Benedict. p. 1140. Carpis rosam, hoc est, Dominici corporis sanguinem.

[4] Herm. Adalb. Daniel, *Codex Liturgicus Ecclesiae Orientalis*, Lipsiae, 1853, p. 387.

[5] "In albo tamen bene conficitur sacrum." Maskell, *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England*, Lond. Sec. ed. 1846, p. 33. Note.

[6] Ioannes de Burgo, *Pupilla oculi*, Argent. 1514, folio xvij. D. "Nec refert an sit album an rubeum . . . quamvis vinum rubeum sit præeligendum."

[7] *Missale Sarum.* Burntisland, col. 656.

[8] *Missale Hereford.* Ed. Henderson, 1874, p. xxxiv.

[9] *Ordinale Exon.* Cap. xxiii. Ed. H. E. Reynolds.

[10] Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, Lond. 1830, vol. vi. part i. p. 143. Note b. Cf. de Berlendi, *delle Oblazioni all' Altare*, Venezia, 1736, § ii. p. 32.

wide acquaintance with English Inventories, tells me that the wine cruet was sometimes distinguished from its fellow by a ruby, fixed in some part of it. This is further evidence in the same direction.

Yet, notwithstanding these English authorities, some have taken to the use of white wine. Had their intent been to cast out of Christian worship the fluids which are euphemistically called wine, either by advertising firms or by Manichæan heretics, not a word would have been said by Catholics who believe that there is but one God who made all things, even alcohol; and who desire nothing more than that the Eucharistic wine shall be the fermented juice of the grape of undoubted purity. But if our Lord at the Last Supper used red wine, it seems inconsistent to give up its use at a time when much stress has been laid upon the importance of following every detail of our Lord's action; a pious view, which must not, perhaps, be too much insisted upon, as it would suggest the practice of celebrating the Eucharist in the recumbent posture. But too great care cannot be taken in the choice of both species for the Holy Eucharist; that both are real bread and real wine, which have not been chemically altered so as to lose their right to the name of bread and of wine.

IV.—Cushions on the Altar.

Many old drawings of cathedral or collegiate churches of the last century will show at each end of the altar a cushion on which the altar book is laid. One of the first things that a modern "restorer" does with his altar is to get rid of these cushions. They are the subject of infinite scorn, but notwithstanding this they may boast a respectable antiquity. At the present moment the Church o Rome knows in her rubrics nothing of the fashionable altar-desk, and orders only a cushion to be put under the mass-book.[1] A moderate search in the English wills or

[1] "In cornu Epistolae cussinus supponendus Missali." *Rubricae generales Missalis*, xx.

inventories will display a number of these *Pillowes or quisshens*, though *desks for auters* (whatever they may be) are to be found here and there.[1] At Poitiers, about 1560–70, there were six pillows of cloth of gold and velvet for the high altar.[2] And I remember, when wandering in Bohemia more than twenty years ago, I found every village altar adorned with a cushion at each end in a way that greatly reminded me of old England. And in the French picture book, *Le Tableau de la Croix*, which I shall quote immediately, there is a cushion at each end of the altar in nearly every engraving. (See Figs. 1 and 9.) And I am told that the cushion is, practically, much more convenient than a desk.

Some of us may remember, too, the cap, the gloves, the handkerchief, all carefully placed near, the last under these cushions. The gloves and the handkerchief are quite gone, and I am not sorry for them, but the handkerchief is an old institution. In a Dominican Missal, printed in 1504 at Venice, there is mentioned amongst the ornaments for the altar, the cushion, the candles, the linen, the Epistle-book, and Gospel-book, "aliqua mapula ad tergendas nares, iuxta missale ponenda," but the rule has disappeared from the edition of 1705, and the decency of a rule from the present Roman Mass-book will be appreciated by all, to wit: that nothing shall be placed on the altar but those things that pertain to the sacrifice, or the decoration of the altar itself.[3]

V.—Ample Linen Covering of Altar.

We may deride, too, the old custom of covering up the altar with linen so that the white linen cloth hang down on all sides almost to the ground. But there would seem

[1] See Dr. Freshfield's valuable paper on St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, in *Archaeologia*, 1887, vol. l. p. 44.

[2] Charles Auber, *Histoire de la Cathédrale de Poitiers*, Paris, 1849, t. ii. p. 277.

[3] See the rubric quoted above. Though Claude de Vert (*Explication, etc.* Paris, 1708, t. ii. p. 321) approves of having a special handkerchief, which should only be used at the altar.

good reasons to believe that this is a primitive custom, if not *the* primitive custom. Most drawings of the early square altars show the linen hanging around nearly down to the ground. The early mosaics at Ravenna show this well. At the Society of Antiquaries we have in our museum a shrine of Limoges enamel work of the 13th century, on one side of which the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury is shown. The saint stands before an altar covered with linen, and on which a chalice and paten stand. To this day when communion is given in a Cistercian house, the communicant approaches the altar and wraps his hands in the linen cloth, using it as a houseling cloth, just as Lanfranc in his *Constitutiones* for the monks of Canterbury says, that the boy who is being offered to the order must have his hands wrapped "in palla qua altare coopertum est, et cujus pars anterius pendet."[1] Le Brun Desmarettes tells us that at Angers they only vested the altar just before mass, and that then the linen cloth hung over very much as it does on a table set ready for dinner; while on Good Friday, a survival, he says, of the practice once followed every day, the High Altar at Rouen was enveloped in a large linen cloth which entirely covered it.[2] Claude de Vert says the same thing.[3] And in the Paris Missal of 1489, there is a view of an altar at which a priest is saying mass. The altar is covered by a linen cloth, shown by its folds, which hangs more than halfway down to the ground. We may also note a cushion for the book, only two lights, and no gradin. (Fig. 1.) There are many other such representations of the linen in medieval drawings; but I will give another illustration, later and therefore more interesting, from a little Roman Catholic Prayer Book, for the loan of which I am indebted to Mr. Willson. The altar is almost square, covered with linen; it has no gradin, but only two lights; and the cross has no figure on it. There is

[1] Wilkins, *Concilia*, Lond. 1737, t. i. p. 355.
[2] De Moleon, *Voyages liturgiques*, Paris, 1718, pp. 80 and 317.
[3] Claude de Vert, *Explication, etc.* Paris, 1713, t. iii. p. 159, Note 2.

a baldequin over the altar. (Fig. 2.) The date, 1665, should be noted. Also the engraving on the first page of Mabillon's *Liturgia Gallicana*, printed at Paris in 1685, shows the altar of an ancient church, perhaps of Rheims. The linen cloth nearly touches the ground, and there are no candlesticks, cross, or gradin, just as at Lyons (Fig. 8),

Fig. 1.—Initial letter of the office for Corpus Christi, in *Missale Parisiense*, printed in 1489 (from the library of the Rev. William John Blew) showing, i. The ample linen covering; ii. The cushion for the book; iii. The absence of a gradin; iv. Only two lights.

but the altar is surmounted by a baldequin from which the Holy Sacrament is suspended in a dove, and lamps burn around. The custom of covering the front of the altar with linen has not yet entirely disappeared, for in 1884 I saw several altars in Spain vested in this way.

The Copts also vest the altar in the ample way. "Be-

sides the ordinary covering, which is generally coloured, the altar must have a second vestment, which shrouds the

Fig. 2.—The approach to the Altar from *A manual of prayers and Letanies*, printed at Roan (Rouen) 1665 (from the collection of Mr. Willson), showing, i. The ample linen covering; ii. Only two lights; iii. Absence of gradin; iv. An Altar nearly square.

whole fabric at the time of the Eucharistic celebration," says Mr. Butler.[1]

There are two ancient methods of vesting the altar in linen: one, just described; the other, which apparently

[1] Alfred J. Butler, *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, Oxford, 1884, vol. ii. p. 283.

the rubric of the Roman Missal of to-day contemplates, is the use of a long oblong piece of linen, coming down to the ground (quae usque ad terram pertingat" says the aforesaid rubric) over the short sides of the oblong altar. There seems to be nothing special to the Eucharist in covering the top and ends of the altar only. In the *Pontificale Romanum*, published at Venice in 1520, there is a drawing of the Pope's coronation dinner; and the table at which the Pope is sitting, and the tables at which the Cardinals are sitting, have linen cloths which only cover the top and short ends. (Folio 52, verso.) Also in the consecration of a church, a table on which wine, salt and ashes are put (folio 112, verso) is covered in precisely the same way. Both of the ancient methods seem very good, but unfortunately neither of these is now kept up. The altar is most scantily vested, the linen not hanging down over the long side at all, and only a foot or so over the shorter end, and left on continuously so as to collect all the floating dirt and dust of the church. The use of three linen cloths, two covering only the top, and a large one covering the top and sides, is extremely ancient, but this now seems given up, and only one is used of scanty dimensions. Can all this be merely to save money, or is it carelessness? We know that the "Sarum" sequence (or rather alternation) of colours is urged upon us because it is cheaper; and we see the altar lights themselves made of paraffin, or some other vile modern composition from America, instead of wax, the use of which has come down to us from the first. But wax either costs a little more, or is more troublesome to buy. Truly the Lord's House is now not to be "exceeding magnifical," but "exceeding cheap."[1]

But though the carelessness and the desire to save money, of which Bocquillot[2] complained two hundred

[1] See Dr. Liddon's Sermon at St. Paul's, on Sunday, August 8th, 1886.

[2] Bocquillot, *Traité historique de la Liturgie sacrée ou de la Messe*, Paris, 1701, p. 105. "Il faut l'avoüer de bonne foy, c'est, l'épargne ou la paresse, ou les deux ensemble, qui ont fait éclorre cette invention nouvelle."

years ago, are no doubt still with us, there is another custom, not due to these causes, of late years crept in. The Holy Table has in some cases been left without any decent covering, not merely on Good Friday, but at all times ; and to this, I fancy, some have been tempted by a feeling that it is a pity to leave a very handsome altar unseen. Others have done the same because it is a modern French use to have no frontal, although the use of a frontal, like that of a cushion, is certainly contemplated by the Roman rubrics. It seems likely that the disuse of a frontal came in at the same time that the sextons began to leave the linen cloths, with the candlesticks and other ornaments, permanently on the altar ; it was a trouble to change the frontal every day to white, or green, or red, according as the saint of the day was a virgin, a confessor, or a martyr, and so the simplest method was to discontinue the use of frontals altogether.

The idea that it is a pity not to show whatever we have that is handsome or rich in a church would be disastrous if carried out widely. Have we not been told over and over again that it is a distinguishing note of Christian art, separating it from that of the Renaissance, to lavish careful work and precious ornaments on the House of God even where they could not be seen ? and does not an ultra-montane ritualist, like Dom Prosper Guéranger, insist upon the mystery that should shroud all that is done at the altar ? I think this idea of hiding the altar is a very old Christian notion. We find mention of veils hung before the altar in the fourth century, which, even if not altar cloths as we mean them, must have served to veil the altar from view ; but certainly from the sixth century onwards we read of palls of silk and purple, which certainly covered the altar.[1] In the Middle Ages the altar was undoubtedly covered, as the inventories continually tell us of fronts or frontals. The Canons of 1603 order the Holy Table to be covered with a "carpet

[1] See the article on Altar Cloths in Smith and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 69. Lond. 1875.

of silk or other decent stuff," thus continuing the tradition universal in Christendom down to that time. In Italy, the custom of having a frontal is universal at the present day. As soon as one crosses the Var, which up to 1860 divided France from Italy, one comes into the country of frontals to altars. In Italy it is rare to find an altar[1] without a frontal. All the altars in St. Peter's at Rome have frontals. And even where the altars are very precious and beautiful, they still have frontals. I do not remember ever to have seen the altar of St. Ambrose at Milan, which is encrusted with plates of gold, enamel, and precious stones, exposed during divine service. Even at Easter it is covered with a frontal of the colour of the day.

I should think it likely that naked altars, except in the case of the few stone altars which are met with here and there in England, were unknown until some ten years ago. English altars, in accordance with the tradition of Christendom, and the rule given by the Canons of 1603, were hidden from view. We know that the Caroline divines fenced their altars with rails. But the Oratorians dislike the chancel and its screen ; they bring their altars down among the people, expose them, and celebrate the Eucharist with the lay folk almost touching the altar. Certainly this is a practical way of teaching that there is no mystery in the Holy Eucharist.

VI.—The Absence of Gradins.

Another thing that the modern restorer puts at once upon his altar is a shallow piece of wood, which he calls a *super altar*, though the word really meant in the middle ages something quite different. This piece of wood is supposed to carry the cross and candlesticks, and is even put on the altar when there are no cross and candlesticks for it to carry. Or there may be two of these shelves, one higher than the other, and one of which will prob-

[1] [I should have said more expressly, a high altar.]

ably be useless. Then in the middle of the gradin a square block is often put, and on it the cross is set, so as in some cases to imitate the tabernacle that is now seen in modern Roman Catholic churches.[1]

I believe myself that the gradin is entirely modern. I have looked over a large number of drawings of medieval altars, both English and foreign, and it is hard to find one in which a gradin is represented. I should not feel surprised if it were shown that in England such an ornament for the altar was unknown before 1840, though it came in on the Continent with the sixteenth century. Thiers, writing in 1688, says it had not been then invented two hundred years.[2]

I am aware that Mr. Micklethwaite,[3] in an admirable paper on *Parish Churches in the year* 1548, gives some instances of a form or shelf on the altar, which he identifies with the modern gradin. I will now quote at length the instances which Mr. Micklethwaite gives more shortly, for I suspect myself that the "schelffe

[1] It is hardly necessary to say that the custom of reserving the Holy Sacrament for the sick goes back to the very cradle of Christianity; while the western custom of reserving it on the altar is quite modern, for it cannot be traced beyond the middle of the sixteenth century. In the middle ages it was commonly hung in the pyx over the altar, or kept in an aumbry in the wall, or in a special little building near the altar, which the Germans call *Sacramenthaeuschen*. We should long ago have had reservation for the sick in the Church of England if there had not been the well grounded fear that we should at once have such functions as the *Quarant'ore* and Benediction introduced amongst us: functions nowhere older than the Reformation, and in this country probably not in general use till the beginning of the nineteenth century, for Dr. Murray's staff of workers for the *New English Dictionary* could find no mention of Benediction as a service before 1812. [I have since had evidence given me of its existence in England in the time of Charles I.]

[2] J. B. Thiers, *Dissertations Ecclésiastiques sur les principaux Autels des Églises, etc.*, chap. xx. Paris, 1688, p. 149. [I have myself found one or two instances of the existence of gradins in England since the Reformation and before 1840, and so have other observers, notably Mr. Cuthbert Atchley; but this in no way makes them legal ornaments of an English altar. Such are limited to those in use in England in the second year of Edward VI. There can be no doubt that as a general rule in England gradins were unknown.]

[3] J. T. Micklethwaite, *Archaeological Journal*, 1878, vol. xxxv. p. 384.

standing on the altar," the "halpas" or "deske" of Hall's, were structures like those abundantly figured in Viollet-le-Duc's *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'Architecture française; sub voce* Autel. These are two or three feet high; in fact, what we should call by the name of reredos, on the top of which were the cross, images, and relics; but the altar candlesticks were always down below, on the altar itself. It carried the upper frontal, as it was called: such I take to be the "frontell for the schelffe standying on the altar of blue sarsenet, with brydds of golde and the frontell of the same sewte," at St. Mary Hill, in 1485–6.[1] Such a sort of triptych reredos may be seen set on the altar in a chromolithograph published by the Arundel Society, after one of the paintings by Pinturicchio in the Piccolomini Library at Siena. It is clearly separate from the altar, as it stands distinctly enough on the white linen cloth.

So at St. Christopher le Stocks in 1488 there was "A nother Sewte of Vestements of white bawdekyn, with rooses of goolde and orpharies of red bawdekyn full of the same rooses, for priest, dekyn, and sub-deakyn, with ij stooles and ffanons and iij coopes and a cloth of the sewte to lye upon a forme uppon the high altar undre the juellis."[2] I confess the "cloth of the sewte" seems to me more like the upper frontal than a narrow piece of silk like that used for a modern gradin.

Nor does the description which Hall, and after him Holinshed, gives of the "halpas" incline one to the belief that it was identical with the modern gradin. In the royal Chapels set up when Henry VIII. and Francis I. met at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, "the aultare was appareled with fiue paire of Candlesticks of golde, and on the aultare an halpas and thereon stode a Corpus domini, all fine golde, and on the same halpas stoode twelfe Images of the bignes of a childe of foure yeres of

[1] *Illustrations of the Manners and Expences of Antient Times in England*, printed by John Nicholls, London, 1797, p. 113.

[2] Edwin Freshfield, *Archaeologia*, 1880, vol. xlv. p. 114.

age all gold."[1] Would a modern gradin take all these? or the following: "On the aultare was a deske or halpace, whereon stoode a patible of the Crucifix of fine golde, with an image of the Trinitee, an Image of oure Lady, and twelue other Images all fine golde and precious stones, twoo paire of Candelstickes of fine golde, with Basens, Crewettes, Paxes, and other Ornamentes."[2] A halpas can have had but little in common with the modern gradin; and the evidence which Mr. Micklethwaite has set before us, even if it were allowed as proof of the gradin in the cases cited, is yet hardly enough to overthrow the almost unanimous voice uttered by medieval drawings as to ordinary custom. I have not met with any representation of the gradin, that is, a shelf only a few inches high, and carrying the cross or the candlesticks, anywhere before the end of the fifteenth century. It appears in a Mass of St. Gregory, by Raffaelino del Garbo, which bears the date 1501.

It may interest those who take their hints in ecclesiology from the Roman Court to know that the late Pope Pius IX. had a great dislike to gradins, and did all in his power to get rid of them, but was unable to do so; and, unless there arise in England a stronger current of medieval feeling, the gradin is likely to stay among us. In spite of the Pope's objections, I cannot help thinking that the gradin of the Roman Basilica, always single, only two or three inches high, and very unpretentious, may be dealt with gently by a strict follower of medieval customs,[3] though he will show no mercy to the hideous

[1] *The union of the two noble and illustre amelies of Lancastre and Yorke*, 1548, vol. ii. fol. lxxiii. verso.

[2] *The union of the two noble and illustre famelies of Lancastre and Yorke*, 1548, vol. ii. fol. lxxiii. recto. Basons are still considered proper ornaments for the altar. We may see them in Royal and College Chapels and other places where the hand of progress has not been too active. In 1449 Sir W. Bruges bequeathed "to the said chirche for ther solemnne feste dayes to stande upon the high awter ii. grete basynes of silver and ii. high candlesticks of silver." See Nichols' *Illustrations* just quoted, p. 132.

[3] [I am more convinced now than when I wrote in 1887 of the mistake

erections, one terrace above another, like the tower of Babel, which we see in so many tasteless French churches.

It is noteworthy that flower pots and gradins are the most widespread of the new customs that have appeared since 1840, and yet both have very little authority from the middle ages. Both were introduced by the early ecclesiologists, I make no doubt, one to give dignity, the other to give beauty, to the Christian altar. Yet the flowers in pots set on the altar seem to have come in only after the Reformation, being first authorized by Pope Clement VIII., who died in 1604.[1] I am not speaking of floral decorations, which are of very great antiquity indeed.

But if the medieval altar had no gradin, yet it had an adornment which gave it far greater dignity: I mean a reredos, structural, or set on the altar during service, sometimes covered with rich silk cloth, called the "upper front." (Figs 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7.) It marked out the altar from the rest of the building; and the idea should

that the gradin is in the decoration of the altar, and I would cancel, if I could, the paragraph above, which gives even a hesitating sanction to these unfortunate additions to the Christian altar. At the discussion of the subject by the Alcuin Club all the members of the committee present at the discussion signed a protest against the opinion of Mr. Micklethwaite. (See *The Ornaments of the Rubric*, by J. T. Micklethwaite, London, 1897. Appendix.) They also add: "Notwithstanding the opinion often expressed that one of the secular Courts has forbidden the setting of the candlesticks directly on the table of the altar, it seems hard to find any real ground for the statement. Sir Walter Phillimore writes to one of us: 'No Court has decided that it is illegal to put candlesticks directly on the *mensa*.'" To the same effect is the Judgment in the Lincoln Case, delivered by the late Dr. Benson, Archbishop of Canterbury: "The Court does not find sufficient warrant for declaring that the law is broken by the mere fact of two lighted candles, when not wanted for the purpose of giving light, standing on the Holy Table, continuously through the service." (*Read and others* v. *the Lord Bishop of Lincoln*, London, Macmillan, 1890, p. 80.) As a matter of fact, abroad, the candles which are really used nearly always stand direct on the linen of the altar.]

[1] Laib und Schwarz, *Studien ueber die Geschichte des christlichen Altars*, Stuttgart, 1857, S. 46. [This refers to their authorization. I have some evidence of their use as early as 1573.]

not be lost, though there seem some signs that it is no longer appreciated.[1]

Fig. 3.—From Christopher Marcellus' *Rituum Ecclesiasticorum Libri Tres*, printed at Venice, 1516, fol. lxix. showing :—i. The Pope at an Altar, on which there are only two lights ; ii. No gradin, but a reredos ; [iii. No cross.]

VII.—The Two Lights.

Another result of the study of medieval altars is a confirmation of the strong Anglican tradition that two

[1] Such want of a reredos may now be noticed at St. Paul's. The wall, which is built across the sanctuary, shortening it out of proportion to the choir, is beautiful and stately, but it has no reredos. The altar could be taken away, and yet the design of the work not destroyed. (May, 1888.)

candlesticks, and only two, are to be set on the altar. In nearly all medieval representations of the celebration of Mass there are only two lights on the altar. Even the woodcut in Marcellus shows the Pope, surrounded by Cardinals, at an altar on which there are only two lights. (Fig. 3.) So the Roman Pontifical, printed at Venice in 1520, has numerous woodcuts which give representations of the different episcopal functions, but there is often only one light on the altar, and never more than two, even in the illustration of a pontifical mass itself, where modern rubric requires seven. (Figs. 4 and 5.) And the

Fig 4.—From a *Pontificale Romanum* printed at Venice in 1520, fol. 29, showing :— i. The Consecration of a Bishop at an Altar on which there are only two lights ; ii No gradin ; [iii. No cross.]

illustrations of this more ancient Pontifical may be contrasted with those of a modern *Caeremoniale Episcoporum*, edited by Catalani, and published at Paris in 1860, in which much the same ground is gone over. In the modern illustrations every altar has six candles besides the cross, and, with one exception, a gradin. At Sens, the metropolitan Church to which Paris was suffragan until the seventeenth century, it was the written rule in

1769 that, according to ancient custom, the altar should have only two lights, except on the three or four principal feasts in the year.[1] Such also was the custom at Lyons at the end of the seventeenth century,[2] though I do not know what the written law was. In the middle ages there was a great difference between the written law and acknowledged custom. And when Mass was not being celebrated, all ornaments were formerly taken away. We may see this for ourselves in the drawings of

Fig 5.—From a *Pontificale Romanum* printed at Venice in 1520, fol. 222, showing :— i. The Altar at a Pontifical High Mass, with only two lights upon it ; ii. No gradin ; [iii. No cross.]

two altars in Westminster Abbey in 1532 (Figs. 6 and 7) ; and even at the end of the seventeenth century at Lyons, the happy Church which knew no novelties and no metrical hymns, the altar had no gradin, no lights, nor cross out of Mass (Fig. 8) ; and at Tours the priest himself carried the cross away at the end of Mass.[3] In modern times the altars have retained their ornaments

[1] *Cérémonial de l'Église métropolitaine et primatiale de Sens*, Sens, 1769. Partie i. chap. 3. p. 13.

[2] De Moleon, *Voyages liturgiques*, p. 45.

[3] De Moleon, *Voyages liturgiques*, pp. 44 and 115.

night and day, and Claude de Vert attributes this simply to the negligence of the sextons.[1]

The Greek Church has to this day kept the custom which

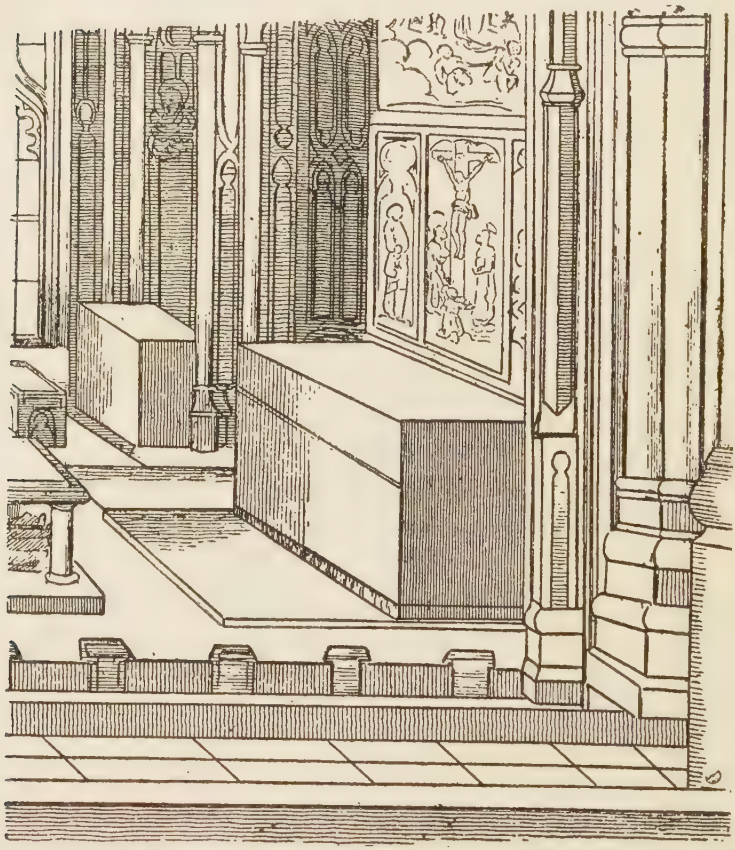


Fig 6.—The Altar in the Islip (?) Chapel, from the Islip Roll in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries ; showing the Altar, vested with frontal, but no other ornaments.

was universal in Christendom to the end of the middle ages. Dr. Neale says : " The altar, though always vested, is,

[1] Claude de Vert, *Explication, etc.*, Paris, 1708, t. ii. p. 354, and t. iii. p. 159, note.

according to the use of the Eastern Church, furnished with its candlesticks and other ornaments during the holy Liturgy only."[1]

In a modern French Church at Benediction the

Fig 7.—Altar of St. John Evangelist in Westminster Abbey, from the Islip Roll, showing same dispositions as in Fig. 6.

branched candlesticks are only brought in at the end of the *Stabat Mater*, or whatever else has been sung, and set on the altar by the side of the Sacrament;

[1] J. M. Neale, *A History of the Holy Eastern Church*, Lond. 1850, Part I. General Introduction, p. 188.

and as soon as the benediction is given, the candles are put out and taken away.

Is it too late to ask for a return to a medieval soberness in the use of candles and other attempts at ornament? It is no addition to the dignity of a service to see alight a number of little candles, a collection of what are unhappily called *vesper lights*. They may be set aside as pure childishness. Now the traditional two lights of the Anglican Church are majestic and simple. No doubt we shall be told in reply that the taste of the last quarter of the nineteenth century is depraved, and that we must accommodate ourselves to it, as other people do. But I fail to see the advantage to religion of degrading its ceremonies to the level of the age.

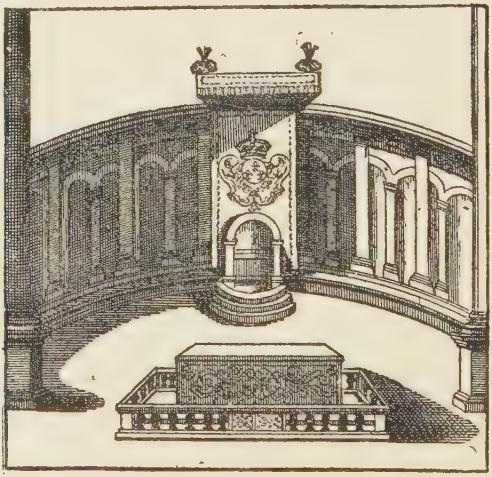


Fig. 8.—From De Moleon [Le Brun Desmarettes], *Voyages liturgiques*, published at Paris in 1718, showing :—i. The High Altar of the Primatial Church of Lyons, vested, but devoid of ornaments ; ii. The Metropolitical Throne, surmounted by the Royal Arms of France.

A dislike of the excessive ornamentation of the altar is not peculiar to Protestants. "How far the altar ought to be ornamented is a question which has been debated with much warmth since the Reformation. . . . .

The Church of England, when not overawed by the clamors of the sectaries that assail her on all sides, is inclined to favour the practice," says a learned Roman Catholic clergyman, well known in his own day, and he adds that "the Roman Basilican altars, unencumbered with tabernacles, reliquaries, statues, or flower pots, support a cross and six candlesticks; furniture which is sufficient without doubt for all purposes of solemnity, and yet may be endured even by a Puritan. The other ornaments, or rather superfluities, which are too often observed to load the altars of Catholic churches, owe their introduction to the fond devotion of nuns or nun-like friars, and may be tolerated in their conventual oratories as the toys and playthings of that harmless race, but never allowed to disfigure the simplicity of parochial churches and cathedrals."[1] And in almost the same words, Bocquillot denounces the presence of images, relics, gradins, candlesticks, and flowers on the table of the altar: "Since the nuns, with a piety more worthy of their sex than of the solemnity of our mysteries, have begun to set pots of natural and artificial flowers on the altar, their example has been followed in the churches of the Mendicant Friars, and in country parish churches, where usually devout women tend the altars. This new usage, which I should call scandalous if the Church did not suffer it, has not yet been introduced into cathedral and collegiate churches, nor into those of the monks, at least of those who have any care to keep up old customs. The old customs should be preserved wherever the new have not yet been introduced, determined with the holy Fathers, that the Holy Table is consecrated solely for the sacrifice, and that nothing superfluous should be set on it."[2]

[1] John Chetwoode Eustace, *A Tour through Italy*, London, 1813, 4to, vol. i. p. 373.

[2] Bocquillot, *Traité historique de la Liturgie sacrée ou de la Messe*, Paris, 1701, p. 103. [It is a sound rule in ceremonial to put as few things as possible on the altar.]

VIII.—Epistolers and Gospellers.

The variations in the ceremonies practised in the celebration of the Eucharist make a division into two heads easy : *missa solemnis* and *missa privata*. The *missa solemnis* is the public, or High Mass, and gives us the rule for the celebration of the Eucharist. The priest is assisted by a deacon and subdeacon ; or in early English terms which have, through the Canons of 1603, come down to our own time, pistler and gospeller. The private, or Low Mass, on the other hand, must be regarded as the exception, and in this the priest is assisted by a server only. It is the presence of the deacon and subdeacon which makes the difference between High Mass and Private Mass, and not whether any part of the service be sung. Now, it cannot be too often repeated that it is only High Mass which gives us the ancient, typical ceremonies of the celebration of the Eucharist, and from which we may learn the true idea of the Eucharistic rites. Low Mass only gives us the rite in a maimed and imperfect, not to say corrupt and irregular way. Private, or Low Mass, that is, a celebration of the Eucharist without deacon or subdeacon, was as little known to the Church at large for the first 800 years, as it is to this day to the Eastern Church. It seems to have come in when Latin ceased to be understood by the people, who betook themselves, therefore, to their private prayers. Low Mass robbed the medieval Church of the idea of common prayer, which it is the glory of our Prayer Book to have brought back. This celebration of the Eucharist in private (I am only using the word still used by the Roman Missal) shows but small respect to the Christian mysteries. It may be borne with in country parishes where there is no one in holy orders but the curate himself, but to see in a Church with a large staff the altar served by some boy taken out of the street, who probably does not know his

Catechism, and has not been confirmed, while men in holy orders are doing nothing in the stalls of the choir, or only come into church to distribute the Communion, shows that there is little or no zeal for the solemnity of the Eucharist. It shows a contempt for the practices of antiquity, to which in all questions of ceremonial, as well as of faith and morals, the Church of England appeals. Even the more learned Roman Catholic authorities dislike the boy server, and tell us that it is the deacon who is the proper minister of the altar. Pierre Le Brun says that it is only by sufferance that a simple clerk should be allowed to approach the altar ; for in ancient times it was the deacon who was properly the minister of the priest to accompany him in the celebration of the holy mysteries even at Low Mass.[1]

I may add that Private Masses do not mean masses without a congregation, or with only a server. Solitary masses have been long rigorously suppressed everywhere, and the Eucharist can only be celebrated in an assembly, a *synaxis*, in which there must be some of the faithful present to respond[2] : a rule which makes us understand the limit in numbers given by the rubric at the end of our Communion Service.

[1] Pierre Le Brun, *Explication etc. de la Messe*, 1777, t. i. p. 97. This learned priest of the French Oratory is not to be confounded with Le Brun Desmarettes, the author of *Voyages liturgiques*, who appears never to have been promoted beyond minor orders.

[2] This rule that the Eucharist must only be celebrated in a *synaxis* has been just restated in a liturgical journal appearing at Rome under great authority ; but unfortunately the number of the congregation has been reduced to the lowest possible figure (vide *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, Romae, 1887, Annus i. p. 641), though the medieval rule was three, or at the least two, as the following passage shows :—"Nullus presbyterorum missarum solennia celebrare presumat nisi duobus presentibus et sibi respondentibus : cum quibus ipse sacerdos tertius habeatur et ratio est quia sacerdos pluraliter loquiter ad populum dicens Dominus vobiscum et Orate pro me fratres." (Petri Cirveli, *Expositio libri missalis peregregia*, Compluti, 1528, fol. xxxiiii. verso.) The Council of Trent (Sess. xxii. cap. 6) hopes that the faithful (in the plural) will communicate at the celebration of every mass.

IX.—Turning to the Faithful when Saluting or Addressing them.

For years there has been a struggle for a reasonable and ancient custom, viz. that in our prayers both priest and people should turn one way; that the priest, by turning away from the people, should show that he is not speaking to them. This practice loses all its meaning unless the priest, when speaking to the people, turn to them. Accordingly, in the Roman rite, when the priest says: *Dominus vobiscum* or *Orate fratres*, he turns towards the faithful; so does the deacon when he says: *Ite, missa est.* But there are one or two places where this common-sense rule is not followed: *e.g.* between the end of the Canon and the *Agnus Dei*, the priest says to the people: *Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum*; and yet he does not turn to the faithful. Why is this? Mr. G. G. Scott explains this apparently unreasonable practice as follows: in the basilica, the curtains were drawn around the altar from the *Sursum Corda* to the Communion, and the priest, being unseen, made no change in his posture when saluting the faithful at the *Sursum Corda* or *Pax*.[1] The curtains around the altar have gone long ago, except in the stunted form of riddells, but the practice caused by them survives. This explanation will commend itself to many; and it will be thought impossible that such a survival, now become unsuitable, even in its own home, could be imitated in another rite. But it has been, and in marvellous fashion. The *Pax*, it is well known, is in the wrong place in the Roman Rite, and it has been further dislocated in the Anglican since 1549, and now exists only as part of the final blessing. The two are now welded together and form a whole.[2] But

[1] G. G. Scott, junr., *An Essay on the History of English Church Architecture*, London, 1881, p. 14, note c. to the Discursus on the Orientation of early Christian churches. Proofs of the distinct orientation of the early Roman basilicas are given.

[2] [This is very ill expressed. I ought to have said plainly that there is no

because in the Roman Rite, for some reason or other (whether Mr. Scott's be the real one does not matter), it has been forgotten to bid the priest to turn to the people ; therefore English priests are to say that part of the blessing which corresponds with the *Pax*, with their backs turned to the people, and in the middle part of the paragraph they are to turn round and finish the blessing. Surely unreasoning imitation never went further than this !

I would also ask, What motive can there be for reading, with back turned to the people, the Epistle and Gospel which are addressed to the faithful for their instruction ?

This is another instance in which a following of the ceremonies of Low Mass has misled ritualists. It cannot be too often repeated that the ceremonies of Low Mass are, compared with those of High Mass, modern, and that the ceremonies which accompany Low Mass have been greatly influenced by the inability of the faithful to understand Latin. The language of early times clearly presupposes that the portions of Scripture read in public worship were for the instruction of the people. It would be easy to multiply quotations from the Fathers in which the people are bidden to listen with attentive ears ; and the author of so late a book of popular devotion as Horst, in the *Paradise of the Christian Soul*, translated by Dr. Pusey, bids the faithful listen diligently to the Epistle as if they heard the Apostle or Prophet himself teaching, advising, or proving.[1] But the reading of the Epistle and Gospel at the altar is in itself modern ; in early times they were

pax in the English Communion Service, though some people wish to see it in the first words of the final blessing. The final blessing has these words in the first book of Edward VI., which has the real *pax (The peace of the Lord be alway with you)* immediately after the Lord's Prayer which follows the Canon. The *pax* cannot be given twice.]

[1] J. M. Horstii, *Paradisus Anim. Christ.* de sacram. Euch. Cap. viii. Mechlin, 1875, p. 358.

read in the ambo, pulpit, or rood loft[1]; and an examination of these ancient ambones will show us that the Scripture lessons were, and still are, read in many churches so as to be best heard of all such as are present.[2] In the Collegiate Church of St. Ambrose at Milan, the ambo is in the nave, on the north side of the church, the reading desk being placed so that the reader faces direct south. The [prophetical] lection (which in the Ambrosian rite precedes the Epistle), the Epistle, and the Gospel, are all read from this desk, an arrangement better than any other for letting both clergy and people hear the words read. The sermon follows from the same place. In the Metropolitan Church at Milan there are two ambones facing each other on the north and south side of the church at the end of the nave, the gospel desk facing south, the epistle north. So in St. Mark's at Venice there are two ambones at the east end of the nave ; from which the Epistle and Gospel are read. Sermons are preached from the epistle ambo.[3] At Pisa the same arrangement exists as in the Metropolitan Church at Milan ; and instances might be extended almost indefinitely of ancient ambones in Italy and Spain which have their desk directed to the

[1] In 1547, just on the eve of the change of ritual in England, there was made at St. Margaret's, Westminster, a "stone in the body of the church, for the priest to declare the pistills and gospells." (*Illustrations of the Manners and Expences of Antient Times in England*, London, Nicholls, 1797, p. 12.)

[2] "The ambon of this church struck me as evidently proving that at the time of its erection the laity must have been able to take a more intelligent part in the public service than they can now in the later Western Church. No one pretends that these ambons were merely pulpits for sermons. But if they were anything more, it follows that an arrangement so obviously adapted for a real use, namely, to enable a congregation to hear parts of the divine service, shows such an use to have then existed. Nowadays the congregations cannot understand a word of the Gospels ; and (as might have been expected) the use of the ambon is almost wholly dispensed with." (Benjamin Webb, *Sketches of Continental Ecclesiology*, London, 1848, p. 306.)

[3] [This is incorrect. Both at the Metropolitan Church at Milan and at St. Mark's, Venice the sermon is preached from the ambo on the south side, but the liturgical lessons from that on the north.]

south ; or even turned towards the nave, to the south-west.[1]

In the early *Ordines* and liturgical writers we find no trace of reading the Gospel or Epistle with back to the people ; the Gospel is to be read by the deacon either with face to the south, as it is to this day at Milan ; or in other cases with face to the north, as the rubric in the Roman Mass book directs to this day at High Mass. The *Ordo Romanus*, printed by Hittorpius, speaking of the standing up and other marks of respect at the Gospel, says : Ipse vero diaconus stat versus ad meridiem, ad quam partem viri solent confluere, alias autem ad septentrionem.[2] Another ancient document also printed by Hittorpius says : Diaconus autem Evangelium legens ad meridiem versus.[3] And in *Gemma animae* we read : Diaconus secundum ordinem se vertit ad austrum dum legit Evangelium.[4]

The ambo in the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople was on the central point of the church, apparently under the dome, so that a reader standing towards any point of the compass could be well heard. I have myself heard the Gospel in an Orthodox church sung just outside the holy doors, the reader with back turned to altar, and facing the faithful : and I am told by an eminent Orthodox priest that this is always the custom with the Greeks.

As a reason for reading Holy Scripture not facing the people, I have been told that the liturgical Epistle and Gospel are acts of worship, and therefore properly

[1] In speaking of north and south, I suppose that the altar is at the east end of the church.

[2] Hittorpius, *de divinis Catholicae Ecclesiae officiis*, Parisiis, 1610. Ordo Processionis, p. 4A. Micrologus almost quotes these words. (*Idem*, p. 737A).

[3] Idem, p. 1172D. Expositio missae.

[4] *Gemma Animae*, lib. i. cap. 22, apud Hittorp. p. 1187A. [The epistle was read towards the people. "Finita oratione, subdiaconus revestitus, verso vultu ad populum, in pulpito legat quasilectionem cum titulo *Dicite filiae Sion*." (*Acta vetera*, col. 117, in John of Avranches, Migne, *Patrologia*, t. cxlvii.)]

read as if Almighty God himself were being addressed. I have never met with this reason in print, and I cannot but fancy that it has been forced by the necessity of finding some explanation after the act itself had been determined upon, as so many of the so-called "mystical" reasons are. But the Epistle and Gospel occur in the *Missa Catechumenorum*, the period of instruction and of sermon when Eucharistic worship has not yet begun; a fact which seems to me to destroy the theory of the Gospel being an act of worship. In the national rites, though not at Rome, the priest and deacon sit during the Epistle, a posture which ill accords with the idea that it is an act of worship.

X.—The Recitation of the Ten Commandments with the Kyrie Eleison.

It is now by no means uncommon for the Ten Commandments, with the invariable collect, to be left out; because it shortens the service. It was a favourite theory of the late Mr. Henry Bradshaw (whose authority on all liturgical matters, especially on those connected with the Sarum Rite, is undoubted) that the Ten Commandments represent a medieval farce[1]; and being introduced between the recitation of the *Kyrie*, just as those long and (to speak the truth) somewhat foolish interpolations of the Sarum Missal were. By leaving out the Ten Commandments, we lose one survival of our old pre-Reformation usages, and a custom which is not altogether unedifying in itself; and at the present moment specially useful, when there seems some danger of the Ten Commandments being forgotten in many parts of the Queen's dominions. In old French dioceses, the Ten Commandments were recited at the end of the Bidding Prayer, or *Prône*, just before

[1] [It is quite reasonable to look upon the Ten Commandments as an invariable prophetical lesson, farced with the *Kyrie*.]

the Epistle and Gospel were read in the vulgar tongue.[1]

XI.—The Collects for the Church and King.

The attempt to make a difference between the Collect for the Church and King and the Collect for the day is sufficiently amusing. Both are said under one *Let us pray*; and, therefore, must be in one series. But it pleases some to say one at one end of the altar, and the other at the other. Why should this change of position be made? Up to Charles II.'s time, the Collect for the King followed the Collect for the day; and this is just the place where a general Synod of the Church of Scotland, in the thirteenth century, ordered to be said[2] a Collect for the King and the Queen, *Deus in cuius manu corda sunt regum.* It is also the place in which, in the Roman Missal, is found a prayer for the Pope; in our rite, instead of praying for one bishop, we pray for "the whole Church," and then for the more particular part in which we find ourselves.[3] Has the Pythagorean superstition that there must be an odd number to the collects anything to do with this omission? At Liège, it may be noted, it was distinctly ordered that when the number of the collects was even, one was not to be added to make the number uneven.[4] And at Palencia, in Spain, it is remarked that there has been a custom to read only an uneven number of collects, not from necessity or Church law, but rather from a common custom which need not

[1] See the *Pastorale Parisiense*, Paris, 1786. Ed. Le Clerc de Juigné Archiep. t. iii. pp. 480 and 484. I find the Ten Commandments at the end of the Prône, or Bidding Prayer, in the Rituals of the following dioceses: Alet, 1667, ii. 264. Lisieux, 1744, p. 400. Soissons, 1755, iii. ix. Toulon, 1780, iii. 101. St. Omer, 1606, iii. 6. At Mentz (*Agenda*, 1551) the Ten Commandments were read on Sundays, with the Lord's Prayer and Angelical Salutation, before the Sermon. The same at Würzburg (*Agenda*, 1564).

[2] *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, Spalding Club, Edinburgh, 1845, vol. ii. p. 32.

[3] [See my paper on the Regalism of the Prayer Book in *Some Principles and Services of the Prayer Book historically considered*, Rivingtons, 1899.]

[4] *Rubricae Generales Ecclesiae Leodiensis*, Leodii, 1769, pars ii. p. 139.

anxiously be kept. And at the same church a prayer for the King, Queen and Royal Family is inserted at the end of the last collect.[1]

Though it be true that in the Sarum Missal the beginning of the Creed was said in the midst of the altar, yet it may be noted that in an allied rite, that of the Black

Fig. 9.—From *Le Tableau de la Croix*, printed at Paris in 1653, showing—i. Surplices without cassocks ; ii. Altar cushions.

Friars, the celebrant leaves the middle of the altar, and says the rest at the north side ; in the older-fashioned churches this custom of saying the Nicene Creed at the north side may still be seen.

XII.—Surplices without Cassocks.

We all know that one of the most frightful breaches of ecclesiastical etiquette that can nowadays be committed

[1] *Missale Pallentinum*, 1568, fo. cccIvii. verso.

is to appear in a surplice without a cassock. And it will astonish many to hear that there can be no doubt that surplices were worn without cassocks, and on important occasions. For example, I have among my books a little tract[1] printed in Paris in 1653. It is mainly a collection of engravings illustrating the various ceremonies of the Mass. The frontispiece shows the Pope, vested in chasuble and tiara, carrying the sacred vessels: before him walk two boys, in surplices without cassocks, their hosen appearing most plainly below the surplice. One is carrying a book, the other the wine and water cruets in a dish. (Fig 9.) I have also a Roman Missal printed at Venice in 1561, and adorned with little woodcuts, which take the place of initial letters. One of these shows a priest vested in an alb and stole standing before an altar, and ready to sprinkle holy water out of a vessel which a colet holds before him. The colet wears a surplice, but no cassock that can be seen. (Fig. 10.)

Mr. Micklethwaite found on the ends of the pews at Trull an odd representation of the Sunday procession, where the cross-bearer and the torch-bearer have surplices, and no cassocks.[2]

Fig. 10.—From a Roman *Missal*, printed at Venice, in 1561, showing—i. The server in surplice without cassock; ii. The Altar, with ample linen covering; iii. Two lights not on a gradin.

I have lately come across a little Roman Catholic prayer-book, much used in Scotland, written by the Rev. W. Gahan, O.S.A. It has the title of *The Path to Paradise*, and was published at Glasgow in 1868, by Hugh Margey. At the end of the book are several illustrations of the ceremonies of the Mass. I should think they must have been cut very early in this century, and they show signs of having been used

[1] *Le Tableau de la Croix représenté dans les cérémonies de la Sainte Messe*, printed by François Mazot. The colophon runs: "Acheué d'jmprimer ce 20e Septembre, 1653."

[2] *Archaeologia*, 1885, vol. xlviii. p. 343. See especially plate xxvi.

many times for many editions. In these drawings, whenever the servers are standing, it can be distinctly seen that they wear rochets, but no cassocks. There may also be noticed the long chasubles, the cushions for the book, and the absence of gradins, of which last two points mention has already been made.

Mr. Everard Green tells me that in one of the MSS. exhibited at South Kensington, in 1885, in the Historical Music Loan Exhibition, there was a like representation in an illumination. So that, as four or five instances have been found by chance within so short a time, it seems not unlikely that a wider and more diligent search would discover many such.

In these examples it may be noted that it is not the priest who wears no cassock, but the colets or the clerk. The reason of this seems to be that the surplice was worn over the ordinary dress. The surplice of the clerk was put over his doublet and hose ; the surplice of the priest over his cassock, which was worn abroad as the ordinary dress of men in holy orders. The cassock continued to be the ordinary clerical dress in England until late in the eighteenth century. In Fielding's time every parish priest, even on a journey, wore cassock, if not gown ; and the custom appears to have gone out in the nineteenth century, probably owing to the influence of the Evangelical movement.[1] These views explain the fact that until quite lately the singing men and boys wore surplices, and no cassocks ; while the clergy in holy orders, as a rule, wore cassocks as well. The practice of wearing no cassocks will not, I hope, be encouraged by what I say ; for a short surplice without a cassock is hardly a pictur-

[1] The history of the cassock and the chasuble bears several points of resemblance. Both *casaca* and *casula* are derived from *casa*. Both, to begin with, were worn by soldiers and women, but have now become exclusively ecclesiastical. The cassock also seems now on a fair way to become a sort of *vestis sacra*, which can only be worn in church, and is a sign of the wearer being engaged in some sacred function. Whereas, it is really nothing but a clergyman's every-day dress, somewhat out of fashion. It has thus exactly reproduced the history of the chasuble.

esque dress. But if we come to what is decent, and not to what is old, what can be worse than the short surplices that are now sometimes to be seen? I hear that an English Roman Catholic Bishop has forbidden the use of cottas in his diocese on the ground that they do not fulfil the first requirement of clothing, which is to hide that part of the body which should be covered. I must own that if I had to chose between the medieval surplice and no cassock, and the modern cotta and cassock, I should vote for the medieval custom, uncomely as it is.[1]

The long surplice is old enough, but there is one feature in the long surplice that is not old, and that is, slitting up this ornament in front so as to put it on like a cloak. If Mr. Pepys is to be understood literally, it is later than the Restoration. In his *Diary* of Oct. 26, 1662 (ed. Mynors Bright), he says: "To church, and there saw the first time Mr. Mills in a surplice; but it seemed absurd for him to pull it over his eares in the reading-pew, after he had done, before all the church, to go up to the pulpitt, to preach without it."

XIII.—Covers to Fonts.

St. Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury in the thirteenth century, ordered, in his provincial constitutions, that fonts should be decently covered, and kept under lock and key[2]; and the same direction may be found elsewhere in diocesan and provincial Synods. The canons of 1603 order that the font shall be of stone; the Puritans using basons. During the rebellion there is evidence that the covers were destroyed, though re-

[1] At Malta surplices are worn by the native clergy, and cottas rejected as being English; because the chaplains to the forces wear them.

[2] See Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, Oxon. 1679, p. 12 of second appendix. Gibson, *Codex*, Lond. 1713, pp. 435 and 225.

stored after 1660. Cosin inquires whether there be "A font of stone with a comely cover."[1]

There is thus a marked feeling in English history for the retention of covers to fonts, and one fails to understand why architects should now so rarely recommend a cover for the font. There is no doubt that the practice is growing, but it should, if possible, be checked. One advantage, in these days of overdone floral decorations, that would follow the use of a cover securely locked, would be that the font could not be periodically profaned by the devout women of the parish. Only last July, I saw the bowl of a font elaborately befouled with earthenware pots, and plants growing in them, and I am told that my experience is not singular.

If time allowed, other changes, not altogether welcome, might be noted. The loss of the parish clerk, an officer almost as old as the parson himself; of the college cap, which when run to earth shows it has precisely the same origin as the Italian biretta[2]; of the square east end to our churches, an architectural feature which goes back, in these islands, to a time before the landing of St. Augustine; of the passing bell, regretted by an eloquent Canon in a recent sermon at our neighbouring Cathedral Church; of the use of bands, the dislike of which seems to have passed into France; last Christmas the French papers announced that the Bishop of Marseilles had forbidden in his diocese the use of the old Gallican *rabat*, with which we are all familiar in the portraits of Bossuet and Fénelon; of black for Lent, one of the most ancient of the liturgical colours, but of which the Sacred Congregation of Rites at Rome shows an almost superstitious horror. The musicians deserve a paper all to themselves. They have altered the old divisions of the *Te Deum*; and

[1] [*Hierurgia Anglicana*, Ed. Vernon Staley, De la More Press, 1902. Part i. pp. 4, 6–10, 72.]

[2] See Claude de Vert, *op. cit.* t. ii. p. 263. The French for biretta is *bonnet carré*, which is a mere translation of square cap.

interpolated preludes between the Preface and the *Sanctus*, which destroy the continuity so necessary between the words of the priest and the voices of the choir ; but the particular misdeed which we have to complain of, at this moment, is their discontinuance of the antiphonal singing, which we know has been in this Church of England for many hundred years, and which can be traced back to St. Ambrose and St. Ignatius of Antioch. This ancient custom is now exchanged for alternate singing between men and boys, a practice which I strongly suspect has been imported from some foreign church, where, having no architectural choir for the singers, an attempt has been made to hide the deficiency by this method of singing. Standing at the psalms has also been discontinued, and the posture of the Presbyterians while singing their metrical versions has been taken instead. Natural reverence would teach us that the praises of God should be sung standing, and this is the rule given by the better Roman Catholic authorities.[1] I fear this is an instance of change due to imitation of vulgar foreign custom, without a single good reason for its adoption. Turning to the East at the Creed has not yet been discontinued[2] ; but as soon as it becomes known, in certain quarters, that it is not done at Rome I feel sure that it will go.

The nineteenth century has been an age of destruction. The mischief that it has done may be compared to that wrought by the Reformers in the sixteenth century, or by the Saracens and Turks at the fall of Alexandria and

[1] Gavantus, *Thesaurus Sacrorum Rituum*, sect. v. cap. viii. Aug. Vind. 1763, t. ii. pp. 127 and 130. "Standum esse ad Psalmos."

[2] [Yes, it has ; I saw it discontinued by an eccentric and Romanizing clergyman, although it had been the custom since the building of the church in which he was officiating. Mr. Frere *(New History of the Book of Common Prayer*, chap. x., v. § 5, London, 1901, p. 391) evidently looks askance at this perfectly innocent practice, because it "has no rubrical authority or any pre-Reformation precedent" ; but he has no disapproval of the practice of making the sign of the cross at the end of the Creed, which has no authority, pre-Reformation or post-Reformation, Anglican or Roman, and is evidently an unintelligent borrowing of the Roman practice of making the sign of the cross at the end of the Nicene Creed, which is unknown in the Sarum rite.]

Constantinople. Its spirit has entered even into those who, we might think, lived to resist it. We have seen in this paper some instances of the destruction done by those who would tell us that their motto is : *State super antiquas vias.* One of the greatest liturgical misfortunes[1] that has befallen the Church of England since the days of Queen Elizabeth, has been the passing of the Act which allows shortened services. This Act has destroyed the idea of Mattins and Evensong. It might have been drawn up by the same hand that disfigured the Irish Prayer Book. The consequence is that now in the daily service[2] of some of our parish churches, it is hard to follow the connexion between the older liturgical forms and that actually in use. The liturgical conception has been lost ; and all this havoc has been wrought, not by our open enemies, but by the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury.

The practical lesson which the study of these ancient customs teaches us is the caution which we should use in forming a judgment as to the source of the practices which some of us are old enough to remember in our youth. They are not all due to Puritan neglect, "the soft, easy, and comfortable pillow which ignorance and indifference make for a well-disposed head";[3] but many of them are part of the inheritance which has come down to us from our medieval forefathers. Sometimes we have suffered reproaches for belonging to a communion in which such slovenly practices could be found ; just as we

[1] The new Lectionary has destroyed some of the links that bound us to the past. "In crastino post circumcisionem Domini incipiant legere epistolas S. Pauli" say the Constitutions of Lanfranc : and this was the rule in the Church of England, down to the revision of the lessons some ten or twenty years ago.

[2] I know more than one English clergyman, therefore, bound to the daily recitation of Mattins and Evensong, but compelled to give up attendance on the daily services in the parish church, because the office is so mutilated that attendance thereon can no longer satisfy the obligation. The *Venite*, the greater part of the Psalms, Lessons, and Canticles (and the Lord's Prayer if said more than once) are all gone.

[3] Montaigne, *Essais*, iii. 13.

have been told that the *Sundays after Trinity* were brought in by Queen Elizabeth, instead of *Sundays after Pentecost*; whereas *Trinity* comes straight from the Sarum Missal, and may be found in many medieval German and French missals; and even to this day in the Dominican Breviary. Now the Middle Ages are thought to have been unrivalled in the dignity of their worship, and there is nothing to be ashamed of in customs which trace their lineage back to so noble a time. Indeed it is to the middle ages that the Prayer Book bids us look for our ecclesiology. It declares that "the chancels shall remain as they have done in times past," that is, in the times which went before the edition of 1552. So that as a general rule we may take as safe guides medieval customs in ecclesiology, and also in ritual when not opposed to the present rubrics of the Prayer Book. Now the earlier ecclesiologists thought they might gain some knowledge of the customs of the middle ages by a study of modern Roman practices, receiving the assertion that Rome never alters with a too confiding generosity; and accordingly they proceeded to change some of the inherited medieval customs in accordance with the dictates of modern Rome. But from modern Rome we can learn next to nothing of the practices of the middle ages. A very little study soon convinces us of the deep division there is between the practice of modern Rome and of medieval England, and that modern Rome will only lead us astray if we trust to its liturgical decisions. Because a practice is Roman, it is not therefore of necessity good, or ancient, or Catholic. In the first place, the liturgy of modern Rome is the liturgy of the Franciscan Friars, while that of the national medieval Churches is the old Liturgy which was used in the parish churches of Rome[1] before

[1] [Mr. Edmund Bishop has shown that even this liturgy is not the native Roman rite, but a composite liturgy the work of the Frankish emperors beyond the Alps. See his essay, printed below, on *The Genius of the Roman Rite*, one of the most valuable contributions of our time to the real understanding of the history of the Roman Liturgy.]

the days of Nicholas III. Theologians often tell us of the mischief which these Friars have caused in their science, and to philosophy ; and the harm they have done in ecclesiology is certain.[1] They are credited with the introduction of the Stations of the Cross, which even Mrs. Jameson can see set forth unworthy ideas.[2] Further, how little of antiquity remains in practice in the Roman Communion may soon be gathered by those who will attend a few popular functions. Liturgical services, with the exception of the Mass, have well-nigh disappeared ; and the seasons of the Christian year, which we prize so much, are but little thought of. Lent has given way to the month of Joseph ; Easter and Whitsuntide are swallowed up in the month of Mary and the Sacred Heart. A distinguished Fellow of the Royal Society told me that the only sign by which he now knew of the presence of Whitsuntide was the red colour of the vestments. If then the more conservative in the Roman Communion have been unable to save from the wreck the Breviary services and the Christian seasons, are they likely to have kept anything ancient in such comparatively unimportant things as the details of the ornamentation of the altar ? They are rather likely to have been overwhelmed by the Oratorianism which, in the early days of the ecclesiological movement, was shown to be destructive of a scientific ecclesiology.[3] As in Germany, in philosophy, the cry has been of late years *Back to Kant*, so in ecclesiology I am sure we must raise the cry of *Back to Pugin*, to the principles which Pugin advocated ; we must throw away the worldly spirit of the Renaissance, and take our inspiration from the middle ages, remembering the direction of the Prayer Book that the chancels

[1] [I notice with regret how fashionable the cult of St. Francis of Assisi has become.]

[2] Mrs. Jameson, *History of our Lord*, Lond. 1864. Vol. ii. p. 115. The Stations are very modern ; about the same age as the gradin.

[3] *Ecclesiologist*, 1852. Vol. xiii. p. 112. The Oratorian idea of a church is "a big hall with an altar at one end." We are going through a recrudescence of this idea at the present moment.

shall remain as in times past, and holding fast to a medieval liberty of practice as contrasted with the attempts of the Congregation of Rites to establish all over the world the iron uniformity which is the aspiration in most things of the nineteenth century.[1] The end of this paper will have been attained if I should succeed in persuading some ecclesiologists that all that is Roman is not ancient, and all that is English is not Puritan.

I cannot end this paper without expressing my best thanks to Mr. Blew, for his goodness in allowing me to copy the woodcut in his Paris Missal ; to Mr. Everard Green, for procuring for me from Mr. Willson a like permission to copy ; to Mr. Micklethwaite, for his assistance in all that relates to Westminster Abbey ; and to Mr. W. H. St. John Hope. All these friends have been ready with suggestions and criticisms ; but I must not be thought thereby to imply that they approve of all or any of the opinions which I have expressed in these foregoing paragraphs.

[1] I am told that, despite their best efforts, they have not been able to secure uniformity in so small a detail as the size of the singing-bread.

On English Liturgical Colours

BY E. G. CUTHBERT F. ATCHLEY

On English Liturgical Colours

BY E. G. CUTHBERT F. ATCHLEY

To write anything fresh about the history of liturgical colours is not so much our intention, as rather to put the results of other writers' investigations into this subject before the ordinary reader. Practically, the available material for the discussion of what colours were used and on what occasions, has been printed in the *Transactions of St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, in two papers, the one Dr. J. Wickham Legg's *Notes on the History of the Liturgical Colours*, published in 1882, and the other Mr. W. H. St. John Hope's *On the English Liturgical Colours*, published seven years later. Little has come to light since these papers were printed, but in 1890 Mr. A. G. Barnes published a paper criticizing the conclusions to which these writers had come.

In this present paper we will take the facts so carefully collected and digested by these authors, and see whither they will lead us, helped by a few others that have been brought forward since. As the great majority of extracts from inventories, etc., to which reference will be made are taken from Mr. Hope's paper, it will simplify matters if no footnote references are given to anything coming therefrom, but when taken from other sources they will be indicated in the ordinary way.

Nor is the present method of analysing the material, which Dr. Legg and Mr. St. John Hope have so carefully gathered together, anything but an extension of that

adopted by Mr. Barnes in his pamphlet mentioned above.

The history of liturgical colours cannot be properly written without treating the matter from the widest point of view, and including the Continent in our investigations. But it is possible to shew, without so elaborate and vast an undertaking, the local developments in any given place, although we may thereby miss the significance of many points ; and this is what is attempted in the following pages.

The use of coloured vestments is contemporaneous with the use of any special vestments at all. Dr. Legg shews how the chasuble is but the offspring of the *paenula consularis*, just as the Greek vestments are but a reproduction of the dress of the Emperors. The old *stola* became the surplice or alb. The old Roman symbolical colours were white, a sign of festivity ; fuscus, a dark colour, a sign of mourning ; purpureus and gold, signs of dignity.

At first there does not appear to have been a very clearly defined system for the use of the different coloured vestments, beyond the use of white for Easter in Gaul ; dark vestments for Lent and Good Friday ; solemn ones for Maundy Thursday ; and the most solemn for Easterday. But as time went on, various schemes began to shape themselves for apportioning vestments of one colour to one day or season, of another to another, and so on.

Dr. Wickham Legg quotes Honorius of Autun (*c.* 1130), *Gemma Animae*, lib. i. cap. 162, in which Martyrs are compared to *roses*, Virgins to *lilies*, those who despise the world to *violets*, and the wise to *green herbs*. He suggests that it may be an early allusion to the liturgical colours for the different degrees of Saints. But it may also be that the passage is only an echo of St. Austin's third sermon on St. Laurence : Habet, habet, Fratres, habet Hortus ille Dominicus, non solum rosas martyrum, sed et lilia virginum, et coniuga-

torum hederas, violasque viduarum.[1] It is not unlikely, however, that this imagery may have given rise to the use of those colours on those particular occasions.

The earliest liturgical colour-sequence that has come down to us is that which was in use in the Latin church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. This church was served by Black Canons, followers of the so-called Rule of St. Austin; and the scheme for the distribution of the colours dates from the twelfth century, sometime between 1100 and 1187. In the last quarter of the same century we have the sequence recorded by Innocent III, written however before he was made pope.

Before saying anything about these schemes it will be as well to set them before the reader. And first that of Jerusalem.

> These are the vestments which the Canons of the Lord's Sepulchre are accustomed to wear on festival days.
>
> First, on Advent Sunday and throughout Advent, unless a festival occur, BLACK chasubles and silken copes. On Saturday [Ember Wednesday according to their Ordinal] when *Missus est Gabriel Angelus* is chanted [they use] chasuble and tunicle of THE BETTER vestments.
>
> On Christmas Eve when Lauds are begun the rulers of the choir (*archichori*) ought to have BLACK silken copes. BLACK chasuble, tunicle, and dalmatic with apparelled albs [should be used] at mass. At Evensong a BLACK frontal before the altar: and the Prior and the rulers [wear] BLACK copes at Mattins in like manner. But the Gospel *Liber Generationis* is sung with the BETTER VESTMENTS adorned with gold (*deauratis*). The midnight mass with the . . . chasuble which is called "The Dragon," and other BLACK vestments, yet all of the better sort that are of that colour. At the morning mass the altar is covered by a RED frontal over two others; and the priest, deacon, and subdeacon, and the rulers of the choir [wear] RED vestments, all adorned with gold,

[1] St. Aurelij Augustini *Opera*, Ed. Benedictin., Antuerpiae, 1700; t. v, *Sermo* ccciv, § 2, col. 861.

or shining with gold (*fulgentibus auro*). At the high mass THE BEST frontal before the altar over three others, and let all have WHITE vestments ; and similarly at Evensong up to the anthem of St. Stephen.

On the feast of St. Stephen all [wear] RED vestments as far as the anthem of St. John the Apostle ; [wherefrom] all [wear] WHITE vestments up to the commemoration of the Holy Innocents, and then RED vestments.

On the Circumcision of our Lord, as on the night of the Nativity, with BLACK frontals.

On the Epiphany of the Lord a BLUE (*celestis*) frontal [shall hang] before the altar, and let all other vestments be of the same colour : nevertheless the Gospel *Factum est autem* [at Mattins] is to be sung with vestments adorned with gold.

All solemnities of Blessed Mary [are kept] with BLACK frontals and vestments.

From Septuagesima to Passion-tide, as in Advent, with BLACK vestments.

From Passion Sunday to Easter even the deacon and subdeacon [have] . . . chasubles ; except on Palm Sunday both at the Gospel and the Prophets, when he has a dalmatic.

[On Good Friday] only a RED chasuble [is used], and RED copes at the showing of the Cross.

On Easter Even a RED frontal [shall hang] before the altar until *Kyrie eleison*, and then a WHITE one be put there, and for the rest [of the time] all [shall use] WHITE vestments until the Lord's Ascension, unless some feastday occur ; and on the Lord's Ascension a BLUE frontal before the altar and all vestments of the same colour, as on the Lord's Epiphany.

On Whitsunday a RED frontal before the altar, and all wear RED vestments ; and in like manner on Trinity Sunday.

And on the Nativity of St. John Baptist [they use] WHITE vestments, and a WHITE frontal before the altar, and throughout the octaves.

And on the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul a RED frontal, and vestments of the same colour.

And on the feasts of the Invention and the Exaltation of the Holy Cross a RED frontal and RED vestments, and the Holy Cross on the altar at mass.

> On the feast of St. Michael a BLUE frontal, and all vestments of the same colour, as on the Epiphany and the Ascension.
>
> The feast of All Saints, a frontal of ALL COLOURS, [and vestments of] WHITE and RED adorned with gold.[1]

In their Ordinal we find that the deacon and subdeacon are in chasubles on Advent Sunday.[2] On Ember Wednesday the deacon vests in the "SOLEMN vestments" for the gospel *Missus est Angelus Gabriel* at Mattins.[3] On Passion Sunday the deacon and subdeacon wear RED (*rubicundis*) chasubles.[4] This entry fills up the lacuna in the sequence. On Palm Sunday the Patriarch and his attendants wear "SOLEMN vestments": and so do all the clergy who attend at the hallowing of the Cream on Maundy Thursday.[5] The ampuls for the oils are wrapped in napkins of white silk.[6] On Good Friday the two canons who support the veiled cross, and chant *O my people*, wear RED (*rubicundis*) copes.[7]

The "Innocentian" sequence occurs in the 64th chapter of Innocent's book, *De sacro altaris mysterio*, belonging to the last quarter of the twelfth century. After stating that there are four chief colours which the Church of Rome uses to distinguish the different days—white, red, black, and green—he goes on :—

> WHITE vestments are worn on the feasts of Confessors and Virgins : RED on those of Apostles and Martyrs . . . WHITE vestments, then, are worn on the feasts of Virgins and Confessors, . . . on the feasts of Angels, . . . on Christmas Day, and the Nativity of St. John Baptist, . . . on the Epiphany . . . on Candlemas, and on Maundy Thursday because of hallowing of the Cream on that day. . . . Also on Easter Day . . . and on the Ascension.

[1] J. M. Giovene, *Kalendaria Vetera MSS.* Neapoli, 1828 ; pt. i, pp. 7, 8. I have ventured an amendment to the text here. As printed, *white* and *red* describe, and limit, the frontal of all colours.

[2] *Ibid.*, 15. [3] *Ibid.*, 19. [4] *Ibid.*, 15–16 *note* 2.
[5] *Ibid.*, 32, 37. [6] *Ibid.*, 38. [7] *Ibid.*, 43.

. . . It is also to be noted that, although the officiating bishops and their ministers use vestments of the colour of the day at the consecration of a bishop, and the consecrand always wears WHITE : nevertheless at the dedication of a church WHITE must always be used whatever the day may be. And the reason of it is because mass of the day is sung at the consecration of a bishop, but at the dedication of a church the mass is always of the dedication.

RED vestments are used on feasts of Apostles and Martyrs . . . So also on the feast of the Cross . . . But perhaps it is better to use WHITE for the feasts of the Cross, since it is not so much the Passion, as the discovery and recovery of the Cross, that we commemorate on those days. RED is also used on Whitsunday . . . And though RED is used for the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, WHITE is used on the Conversion of St. Paul and on the Cathedra of St. Peter. Again, though WHITE is used for the Nativity of St. John Baptist, RED is used for the day of his Beheading. And when it is the feast of a Virgin-Martyr, the martyrdom is to be preferred to the virginity . . . Therefore some use RED vestments on All Saints' day; but others use WHITE, as the Court of Rome does.

BLACK vestments are worn at times of affliction, and of fasting for sins, and for the departed. They are worn from Advent Sunday to Christmas Eve, and from Septuagesima to Easter Even.

Some say that BLACK vestments should be worn on Holy Innocents' day, and others that RED ones should be used. . . . But at the present time we use VIOLET, as we do on Midlent Sunday. . . .

Finally, on ferial and common days GREEN vestments should be used. . . .

Under these four heads the other colours are grouped : crimson (*coccineus*) as red, violet as black, saffron as green. But some refer roses to Martyrs, lilies to Virgins, saffron to Confessors.

In these two sequences we see two different streams of development, the one Gallican, the other Roman. In neither case is there an innovation, but each is merely a record of existing customs, customs which have hardly

crystallized into absolute rule. The most marked divergence is in the Passiontide colour. In the Jerusalem rite red vestments were worn, at Rome black as on other Sundays in Lent. And this divergence persists throughout the various members of the two groups. Another Gallican feature is the use of red on Childermas (whether it falls on Sunday or weekday) and on All Saints' Day, where Rome used black (or violet) and white respectively : and again, in the use of some colour other than white for the feasts of Confessors.

In the rites that have come under Gallican influence the Sundays in Advent are usually provided with proses or sequences at mass : they had them at Jerusalem, and in most of the post-conquest rites in this country, and in the north of Europe. Proses and sequences are always associated with festal seasons. But in certain monasteries in Gaul during the sixth century there grew up a practice of keeping a sort of Lent before Christmas.[1] It had spread to England by the time of the Venerable Bede. From the monks the custom spread to the outside world. In some places they even veiled the images just as in Lent. *Te Deum* and *Gloria in excelsis Deo* were omitted in Advent as in Lent : or perhaps, to be more accurate, they were not adopted in Advent and Lent. And yet at one time *Gloria in excelsis Deo* was sung during Advent[2] at Toulouse. The use of chasubles instead of dalmatic and tunicle persisted in Advent and Lent when dalmatic and tunicle came into use for other seasons. In the eleventh century such rules as exist enjoin the use of chasubles, and in the thirteenth century all the Consuetudinaries still order them. And so the rules remained : but, in later practice, dalmatic and tunicle were often used in cathedral and collegiate churches, and in parish churches probably always, instead of the chasubles of the rubric. Advent, in the English rites, thus partook of a double character,

[1] Edn. Martène, *De Antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib. iv : cap. x : n. iij ; Antuerpiae, 1737 ; t. iij, 73 sq.

[2] *Ibid.*, n. xvj ; col. 80

partly festal (as shewn by the use of sequences or proses), and partly penitential (as shewn by the non-use of *Te Deum*, and *Gloria in excelsis*, and the order to use chasubles instead of tunicle and dalmatic).

Before going any further there are certain terms which we shall constantly encounter, and that must be defined. These are *Christmastide*, *Eastertide*, and *Vestment*.

Christmastide, according to some, ends on the octave of the Epiphany. They can point to the fact that at Lichfield, Exeter, and Wells, the Epiphany colour was changed after the octave and the ferial colour resumed, at any rate for Sundays. After the Sunday *Domine ne in ira*, that is, the second Sunday after the Epiphany, on ferials[1] the *Preces* were resumed with prostrations at the hours, and the services were altered in other ways. Something of this sentiment lasted on until the middle of the seventeenth century, when we find in the laws of Gray's Inn[2] in the fourth year of Charles I: "All playing at dice, cards, or otherwise is henceforth forbidden at all times of the year, the xx daies in Christmass only excepted," which makes the season end with the octave of the Epiphany. Herrick's lines on St. Distaff's day, which was the morrow after Twelfth Day, seem to give a shorter period still: after the frolics befitting the day

> Give St. Distaff all the right,
> Then bid Christmas sport goodnight,
> And next morrow every one
> To his own vocation.[3]

The Christmas Doxology is ordered to be sung at the end of all hymns, according to the Sarum Breviary,[4] until the morrow of Candlemas, except during the octaves of the Epiphany, and excepting the hymn *Deus Creator*

[1] F. Procter and Chr. Wordsworth, *Breviarium ad usum . . . Sarum*, Cambridge, 1882; fasc. i, col. ccclxj: 1879; fasc. ij, 51, 53, 89, 228, 240.
[2] W. Dugdale, *Origines Juridiciales*, London, 1666; p. 285.
[3] *Hesperides*, Ed. Morley, London, 1884; p. 245.
[4] *Brev. Sarum*, j, clxxj-ij.

omnium. At Lichfield[1] in 1194 the silk hangings were kept up from Christmas until Candlemas. And this custom of letting the Christmas decorations remain till that feast must have been fairly general all over England, and lasted till Herrick's time. *Upon Candlemas Day* he says :

> End now the white-loaf and the pie,
> And let all sports with Christmas die.[2]

The *Ceremony upon Candlemas Eve* begins with pulling down the Christmas decorations.

> Down with the rosemary, and so
> Down with the bays and mistletoe ;
> Down with the holly, ivy, all
> Wherewith ye dressed the Christmas hall.[3]

And in another poem he tells how the Christmas decorations are taken down, and box used until Easter Eve.

> Down with rosemary and bays,
> Down with the mistletoe ;
> Instead of holly, now upraise
> The greener box, for show.
> The holly hitherto did sway,
> Let box now domineer
> Until the dancing Easter Day
> Or Easter's eve appear.[4]

At the beginning of the sixteenth century some idea of this prevailed. In the statutes of the Savoy Hospital[5] we read that they might play at chess, and at Christmas-tide for forty days at draughts, so long as they did not cheat, swear, or lose too large a sum of money. So that the Christmas holiday lasted for them until Candlemas.

[1] D. Wilkins, *Concilia*, j, 498.
[2] *Hesperides*, 223. [3] *Hesperides*, 237. [4] *Hesperides*, 222.
[5] Poterint enim omni tempore ludere ad scaccos, et tempore Nativitatis dominice per quadraginta dies ad tabellas sine fraude et blasphemia et magna pecuniarum summa (Cotton MS. Cleopatra C.v., fol. 27 *verso*).

We see, then, that there are two periods which can be termed Christmastide ; the one lasting till the octave of the Epiphany, after which the colour was changed, and the weekday services took on a ferial type : the other, lasting on till Candlemas, during which the Christmas doxology was continued and the decorations remained up.

Eastertide is a period of great importance in colour sequences, especially the earlier ones. The Consuetudinary of Sarum [1] orders that at every ferial mass out of Eastertide after *Sanctus* until *Per omnia secula* before *Agnus Dei* the choir make prostration. From the printed Sarum Massbook [2] we learn that this took place except from Easter Day till *Deus omnium*, the first Sunday after Trinity. *Alleluia* was added to the invitatories, responds, offices, etc., from Easter Even until Trinity Sunday exclusive. Easter Even and Trinity Sunday each have nine lessons at Nocturns, and all the intermediate days have only three lessons : and the use of three lessons on both feria and feastday is a distinctive mark of Eastertide. Consequently, Eastertide includes Whitsuntide. It would seem that at first Eastertide lasted until the octave of Pentecost ; later on until the first evensong of Trinity : and, last of all, when the week following Trinity Sunday came to be regarded as a quasi-octave of Trinity, Eastertide became extended till *Deus omnium*, making eight weeks in all.

The term *vestment* is much misunderstood. A vestment varied considerably in extent, from a chasuble with its fanon and stole, up to a complete set including several copes, a chasuble, dalmatic, and tunicle and their three fanons and two stoles, tunicles for other ministers, albs and their apparels, the altar hangings and curtains, etc. A " pair of vestments " usually means a chasuble with its amice, alb, fanon, stole, and apparels : but sometimes it

[1] W. H. Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, Cambridge, 1898 ; vol. i, p. 23.

[2] F. H. Dickinson, *Missale . . . Sarum*, Burntisland, 1861–83 ; col. 631 sq.

includes[1] cope and tunicles with their appurtenances, as in the will of Walter de Brugge, canon of York, 1396.

One frequently finds in the inventories statements that such and such a vestment was a principal vestment, or for doubles or for ferias, etc. At first the discovery of these items led to extraordinary conclusions. Dr. Henderson, in his introduction to the York Manual and Processional, was thus led to say that red was the colour for doubles (not being feasts of St. Mary), blue for Sundays and Feasts of nine lessons, and green for ferias. Dr. Wickham Legg gently protests against such ideas. "It would be very unlike what we know of other rites," he says, "to suppose that all doubles were of one colour." He suggests that the vestments were classed according to their embroidery "or some other circumstance which fitted them for the festival or feria." The real reason is the "other circumstance": the key is at hand in the item quoted by Dr. Henderson for the altar of St. Andrew at York Minster :—

> Vestimenta sufficientia pro Duplicibus, pro Novem Lectionibus, pro ferijs.

The point of the phrases is in the *sufficiency* of the vestment for the particular day or season. A red vestment for doubles means, then, a vestment sufficient for double feasts that are kept in red. The Inventory of the goods given by Sir Thomas Cumberworth knt. to the Chapel of the Holy Trinity in Somerby Church in 1440 is sufficiently instructive for us to quote the list of vestments.[2]

> In the first, for *the highest feast* in Holy Church *that shoula be ministered in red*, one whole vestment for priest, deacon,

[1] Item lego ecclesiae Sancti Patricij, Dublin, unum par vestimentorum novorum de panno cerico rubeo, cum j casula, j capa, ij tuniculis, iij albis, iij amitis cum eorum apparatu (*Testamenta Eboracensia*, Surtees Society, 1836; j, 208).

[2] Edw. Peacock, *English Church Furniture*, London, 1866; pp. 181 sq.

and subdeacon, with a cope thereto, a corporas and the case, and all that needs to them to sing and minister in, of r e d velvet upon satin.

Item a whole vestment of r e d velvet with trefoils, for priest, deacon, and subdeacon, and two [*blank*] thereto, and one corporas with the case, and all that needs to them to sing and minister in, for those *feasts that are to be ministered in red, next* [*to*] *principal feasts* [*i.e.* greater doubles].

Item one vestment p a l e d of cloth of silk, for priest, deacon, and subdeacon, and a corporas of diverse silk, and all that needs to a priest to sing and minister, *for double feasts.*

Item one vestment, of whole cloth of gold, and a corporas with the case, and all that needs the priest to minister in *for great double feasts and principal feasts.*

Item one vestment of w h i t e silk, with a red orfray of cloth of gold, a corporas with a case, and all that to a priest needs to sing and minister in, *for the feasts of our Lady or for her Virgins as far as for their double feasts it should be in white.*

Item a vestment of b l a c k worsted, and a corporas with the case, and all that needs to a priest to sing in, *of Requiem, or of Confessors.*

Item a vestment of r e d worsted, and a corporas with the case, and all that a priest needs to sing in, *for Martyrs.*

Item a vestment of bawdkin, the ground black, with green work, and a corporas with the case, and all that needs to a priest to sing and minister in, *for holy days.*

Item a vestment of w h i t e fustian, with black martlets, and a corporas with the case thereto, and all that needs to a priest to sing in, *for ferial days* ; and two surplices, and a surplice for a child.

Item a vestment of w h i t e demyt *for Lent and Vigils*, with a corporas and case, and all that a priest singeth with.

This shows that, in some cases at any rate, the designation of a vestment of a certain colour for a certain class of feasts only means that it is to be used on feasts of that class to which that particular colour is appropriate.

In the medieval rites a much larger number of vestments was required for the higher feasts than for the

lower, specially in cathedral and collegiate churches. Besides the chasuble and tunicles for the ministers at the altar, there would be four silken copes for the rulers of the choir and another for the precentor ; silken copes for the singers of the prophetic lesson (when there was one): three more for those who sang the grail : tunicles for the cross bearers, and the taperers : sometimes a silken cope for the collet and for the censer. On ferias very much less was needed : a chasuble for the priest, and tunicles or chasubles for the deacon and subdeacon.

The ordinary quire-habit in secular cathedral and collegiate churches up to the reign of Edward VI consisted of the following garments, worn over the cassock :—a surplice or rochet, an amess (for the upper and middle ranks), and a black cloth cope or cloak, called *cappa nigra*. This last was worn by all ranks in quire during the winter months at all services, except when a silken cope was prescribed, and at mattins all the year round. The three ranks or grades were, the uppermost, the dean and canons ; the second, petty canons and vicars ; and the lowest, boys and altarists.[1]

It is evident from all that we can learn of medieval colours, that they were grouped or classified into principal colours and secondary ones. Those of the first group are four : Red, White, Green, and Black. Under each of these the remaining colours ranged themselves, as secondaries, interchangeable with their principals.

Red — Crimson, [Red-]Purple, Rose, Pink, Murrey or *Subrubeus*, Sanguine, Carnation, Horseflesh-colour.

Thus among the *Red Copes* at York Minster there were

[1] For further information on quire-dress see *Transactions of St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, 1900 ; vol. iv, pp. 313 sq.

two of "purple sanguine cloth of gold," another "purple velvet" cope, and two "purple" suits amongst the red vestments. "Red purple" also is encountered as a colour of vestments: and the purple above mentioned was obviously of that character.[1] At Windsor purple, murrey and *subrubeus* are identified in the various copies of the Statutes of the Order of the Garter.[2] In those of 23 Ed. III, § v. the secular canons wear a mantle *de panno coloris purpurii*: in Lord Hatton's copy of the same they wear mantles *murrii coloris*, and in the Liber Niger, *pallia purpurei subrubrive coloris*. Marbodus, bishop of Rennes at the end of the eleventh century, tells us[3] in his Prose on the Twelve Stones of the New Jerusalem that the Sardius is of a sanguine colour[4] and shews the glory of the martyrs. The Chrysoprase he calls purple, and the Amethyst violet. Carnation is the colour of human "flesh" or skin, a light pink: the use of the word to denote a deep crimson is much later than the times which we are considering. Horseflesh-colour is a peculiar reddish bronze, and occasionally appears as the colour of vestments in the sixteenth century.

White

Albus and *Candidus* appear to mean the same. Silver and gold (cloth of silver, and cloth of gold).

[1] *E.g.* one of red-purple with a cross of blue (*Inventories of Church Goods*, Surtees Society, 1897; p. 18). Red purple at Goxill (*Ibid.*, 57). *Cnf.*:— A peyre vestmentes of sadde *blewe*, with a orfray of *purpyll* colour (Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep., *Appx. 6th Report*, p. 477). At Canterbury they had a cloth *albus purpureus* (Legg and Hope, *Inventories of Christ Church, Canterbury*, Westminster, 1902; pp. 127, 130).

[2] E. Ashmole, *The Institution . . . of the Garter*, London, 1672; Appx. (unpaged). Murrey was a *festal* colour in the Westminster Inventory of 1388. There were "principal" albs, "principal" copes and chasubles of this colour (*Archaeologia*, 1890; lij, 247–8, 257, 260), besides others more simple and plain.

[3] C. W. King, *Antique Gems*, London, 1866; pp. 430 sq.

[4] One vestment of sanguine silk (*Inventories of Church Goods*, 39). *Cnf.* one altar cloth of charbucles [? carbuncles] (*Ibid.*, 80).

Green

Yellow, Saffron,
Tawny, Glaucous.

The fifteenth century pontifical sequences, following the Innocentian, identify green and saffron or yellow for liturgical purposes: an identity which has some ocular and considerable etymological foundation.[1] Tawny is a yellowish-brown like sunburn.[2] But, in Heraldry, *Tawny* is a bright colour of red and yellow mixed, which in the coat armour of nobles is called *Hyacinth*.

Glaucous is frequently met with as the colour of vestments, particularly of the richer sort: and more often than not the orfrays or adornments are red.[3] It is the greenish bluish shade of the foliage of so many seaside plants, and red and golden-yellow are an excellent foil to its peculiar hue.

At St. Albans (temp. Hen. IV) they had several vestments of this colour[4]: amongst them was "a cope of green and glaucous colour powdered with roses[5] and little golden fishes." At Westminster in 1388 they had nine "principal albs" with glaucous apparels,[6] and several glaucous vestments.[7] At Sarum and elsewhere it is found as equivalent to green and yellow, used for Confessors.

[1] Skeat says that green, grow, and χλωρός all derive from the roots GHRA, GHAR, GHAL: from which also derive yellow, gold, gall, yolk (*Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*, Oxford, 1882).

[2] *E.g.* one vestment of tawny silk with a green alb for the same, one [cope] of tawny silk with birds of gold, one of tawny bustian sewed with white silk, at Swyne, 1552 (*Inventories of Church Goods*, 46). *Cnf.* 57, 58, 62, 64, 68, &c., &c.

[3] *E.g.* Lincoln Coll. Oxon. had one with a cross of red silk and semy of peacocks and griffins, and another with a white cross (Hist. MSS. Comm. *Rep. II. Appx.*, 131). At Mere they had, besides a complete glaucous suit, a "frontall" of glaucous silk powdered with red roses and blue fleur-de-Lys (R. Hoare, *Modern History of South Wiltshire*, London, 1822; vol. j, pt. 2, p. 150).

[4] Chronica Monasterii S. Albani, *Annales a Johanne Amundesham*, Rolls Series, 1870–71; ij, 340 (chasuble, red orfrays), 341 (dalmatic, gold orfray), 343 (copes).

[5] *Ibid.*, 342.

[6] *Archaeologia*, 1890; lij, 250. They form five sets, three of which were ornamented with red roses, the rest with gold.

[7] *Ibid.*, 257, 260, 266, 278.

a). Violet, [Blue-] Purple, Blue, Hyacinthine, Azure, Perse.

Black *b*). Burnet, Brown, Russet, *Fuscus*, Ashen, Gray, Dun, Dove-colour, Crane-colour, White, Yellow.

In the former group of secondary colours to black, we have a range of shades through the blues, in the latter through the browns ; and both extending to an extreme, which, when taken apart from the intermediate steps of the series, seems to have no connection with the principal colour.

Violet is the colour of the flower, a dark blue. At Welwyn, Herts,[1] they had in 1541 a vestment with amice and alb, stole, fanon, and "apparels of satin of Bruges, violet or blue colour." The Innocentian sequence classes violet with black.[2] The pontifical sequences tell us to take purple and violet for the same, and that, *according to some*, violet and black were to be held identical for liturgical purposes. That there was a purple which had sufficient blue in it to be contrasted with red may be seen from the following item. At Ely,[3] 1356, they received "two copes of cloth of silk of purple (*purpurei*) colour,[4] worked with red (*rubeis*) vines." At St. Albans the inventory,[5] temp. Henry IV, includes under the head of black albs (*i.e.* albs with black apparels) two of purple and others of blue (*blueto*). And there were two dalmatics of blue damask at York Minster[6] about 1552 among the *Black Vest-*

[1] H. Chauncey, *Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire*, London, 1826, vol. ij, p. 32.

[2] So Ordo Romanus XV § 24. Verum tamen modernis temporibus romana ecclesia istis tribus [nigro, violaceo, indio] utitur quasi pro uno colore (Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, ij, 462).

[3] H. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, Londini, 1691 ; j. 662.

[4] *Cnf.* stolam et fanum de *nigra purpura* (Legg and Hope, *Inventories of Christchurch, Canterbury*, Westminster, 1902 ; p. 3). Blue-purple is occasionally found in inventories.

[5] Chronica Monasterii S. Albani, *Annales a Johanne Amundesham*, Rolls Series, 1870–71 ; ij, 352.

[6] W. Dugdale, *A Brief Historical Account of the Cathedrals of York, Durham, and Carlisle*, London, 1715 ; pp. 27, 24–6, 28.

ments : this blue probably was dark, for there is a separate inventory of *Blue Vestments* besides.

The Latin words used for blue are many, but the shades they denote are not definitely known to us. Thus, there is *blodius*, the colour of the mantles of the Knight's Companions of the Garter in two copies of the Statutes. In the *Black Book* this is rendered *cerulea*. Marbodus of Rennes calls the Jacinth (or Hyacinth) *caeruleus*. At Wells blue was called *indius*, *i.e.* azure : and at Exeter *indicus*, another form of the same word, is explained as *aërei coloris*, sky-blue. They also recognised a blue at Exeter which was closely akin to black, and which they called *blauus* ; it may have been the same as was called *bluetus* at St. Albans,[1] where we find in the same list of vestments both *bluetus* and *indici coloris*. At Exeter they noted "four or six varieties of colour, according to the custom of the Roman Curia." These were 1) *candidus*, white ; 2) *rubeus*, red ; 3) *viridis seu croceus*, green or yellow ; 4) *violacius*, *blauus vel niger*, violet, blue, or black. How they reckoned the six does not appear ; perhaps *blauus vel niger* denoted blue-black, and counted as one.

Perse is a colour that ranged from azure to dark blue. Du Cange[2] defines it as "Color ad caeruleum vel ad floris persicae mali colorem accedens," and adds, "recte Acarium : *Perso . . . azuro scuro et non aperto.* Aelfricus in Gloss. Sapon. cap. *de Coloribus* ; *Perseus*, blaven, i.e *blavius*." It is in the sense of "sky coloured, of a grayish blue," that Chaucer uses it to describe the garb of his Doctor of Physic (*Canterbury Tales*, *Prologue*, 441) : though Dante defines it as a colour mixed of purple and black, but the black predominates (*Convito*, iv, 20), and so uses it in *Inferno*, v, 89 (*l'aer perso*), vij, 103, and *Purgatorio*, ix, 97. In English inventories it may be safely taken as some sky-blue shade.

[1] Chronica, *Amundesham*, ij, 350 (J. Mustone's alb, apparels *de blueto veluetto*), 351 (apparels *de samite indici coloris*). They had several vestments, etc., *de blueto*, but I have not noticed any other *indici coloris*.

[2] Niort, 1886 ; vj, 286.

Burnet was a dark ruddy brown. In England the name of *Sanguisorba officinalis* was given, because of its colour. Simon de Montacute, bishop of Ely,[1] bequeathed to his church in 1344 a vestment of brown (*bruni*) ornamented with talents of quasi-gold. At Welwyn, Herts,[2] in 1541, they had a "Vestment, with the alb, stole, fanon, and apparels, of branched damask *brown or russet colour*, embroidered with flowers of Venice gold."

Ash colour is not very commonly mentioned. There was an ash-coloured cope used at Exeter in 1327; Robert Orford, bishop of Ely, gave two thin copes of ash-colour to his church (1303–10); and there was a vestment of gray dorneck cloth at Nonckilling Yorks.,[3] in 1552. Probably there were many others, but, as Mr. Hope contends, classified as white.

Dun[4] is a colour not infrequently met. It signifies a dull grayish brown, the colour of the ass, or the mouse. It is closely akin to ashen.

Dove-colour explains itself: a pale brownish gray. Crane-colour is the colour of the common crane, an ashy gray. It is found several times in the Edwardian inventories. All these, Dun, Dove-colour, Crane-colour, Gray[5] and Ashen, were very similar: and the Lenten white must be grouped with them for liturgical purposes.

Amongst the *Chasubles and Copes of black colour* at Lincoln in 1536 were a chasuble, two tunicles, and two

[1] H. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, Londini, 1691; vol. j, p. 652.

[2] Chauncey's *Hertfordshire*, ij, 32. *Cnf.* One vestment of russet bawdkin (*Inventories of Church Goods*, 77), russet damask (*Ibid.*, 128).

[3] *Inventories of Church Goods*, Surtees Society, 1897; p. 51.

[4] The definitions of colours are from the *New English Dictionary*, or Prof. Skeat's *Etymological Dictionary*. One vestment of dun silk and an alb for the same, Swyne 1552 (*Inventories of Church Goods*, 46). Two children's copes of dun Sarsnet at Beverly (*Ibid.*, 58). A suit, with four copes at Pocklington (*Ibid.*, 67), a vestment (*Ibid.*, 104).

[5] Gray was used at some funerals; *e.g.* To John Dewe for grey lynen cloth and sylk frenge for the hers vjl. xvjs. ij*d.* (G. Blomefield and P. Parkin, *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, London, 1807; vj, 485).

copes of yellow silk, for Lent: to which we may associate the altar front of tawny cloth of bawdkin at Westminster in 1388, and the yellow one there about 1540, both for Lent. The Gray-Friars of Sarum had a yellow chasuble for Lent in 1538. This colour must therefore be included under the colours secondary to black. In the *Romaunt of the Rose*, Chaucer[1] describes *Sorrow* as faded yellow in colour.

> Sorrow was painted next Envỳ
> Upon that wall of masonry.
> But well was seen in her colour
> That she had livèd in languour,
> Her seemèd have the jaundice.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> For sorrow, thought and great distress
> That she had suffered day and night,
> Made her full yellow, and nothing bright,
> Full faded, pale and meagre also.

Probably similar ideas were answerable for the choice of yellow for Lent. And in connection with the same notion we may remember[2] the way in which Henry's paramour, Anne, mourned the death of the lawful Queen of England. "The 8th day of January folowyng dyed the princes dowager at Kymbalton and was buried at Peterborough. Quene Anne ware yelowe for the mournyng." And when she met a just fate on the scaffold a few months later, Henry "ware whyte for mourning." White was at one time the mourning colour used by the queens of France.[3]

13TH CENTURY.

We will now set out the various sequences of English origin that are found in the thirteenth century, and the

[1] W. W. Skeat, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, Oxford, 1894 ; vol. j, p. 106.

[2] *Hall's Chronicle of England*, London, 1809 ; pp 818, 819.

[3] J. Leland, *Collectanea*, Londini, 1770 ; v. 334 *note*.

other evidence from inventories belonging to the same period.

The sequences or colour-rules are those of Sarum circa 1210, Lichfield 1240, and Lincoln circa 1260. As before, we give only the English translation : the Latin originals are in print and easy of reference.

The colour sequence in the Sarum Consuetudinary, circa 1210 is as follows :—

> In Easter-tide the ministers of the altar use WHITE dalmatics and tunicles. The rulers of the choir likewise use WHITE copes ; also on the Annunciation, and within octaves of Blessed Mary the Virgin, and in commemorations of the same, and on each feast of St. Michael, and on the feast of any Virgin.
>
> Moreover they use RED vestures on each feast of the Holy Cross, and on every feast of Martyrs, and in singing Tracts. On simple feasts in Lent,† also on Passion Sunday and Palm Sunday the rulers of the choir use RED copes.[1]

To this colour rubric may be added these, which bear on the question.

> The rulers of the choir, however, shall always use silken copes in quire.[2]
>
> Moreover on this day [Monday after Advent Sunday] mass *in capitulo* is said for the faithful before terce with deacon and subdeacon wearing albs : which shall alway be observed in every mass for the departed, except when it is celebrated for the bishops of the church itself [*i.e.* of the diocese], and on the morrow of All Saints ; for then they use dalmatics and tunicles.[3]
>
> Moreover, on every feria throughout the year, except in Advent and Septuagesima [*i.e.* from that day till Maundy Thursday], the deacon and subdeacon use dalmatics and tunicles except on vigils and Ember-days : for then they let them be in albs.[4]

[1] W. H. Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, Cambridge, 1898 ; vol. j, pp. 26-7.
[2] *Ibid.*, 25. [3] *Ibid.*, 102.
[4] *Ibid.*, 103. The Consuetudinary (*Use of Sarum*, i, 63) refers to the Ordinal for the full details of when dalmatics and tunicles are to be worn. There we

The last two rubrics are not in conflict, but deal, the one with votive masses, and the other with those of the regular course. But the second paragraph of the colour rubric seems to be wrongly punctuated. If we look at the other parts of the Consuetudinary which deal with the singing of tracts, we find that they do not agree with the reading of the rubric as we have punctuated it above, following Mr. Frere's punctuation of the Latin. From Septuagesima to Easter, we are told, a tract shall be sung by four clerks of the higher rank[1] at the quire-step. On Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays in Lent, on the first Sunday in Lent and on Palm Sunday the choir sing the tract from alternate sides.[2]

On Ember-Saturdays[3] the tract after the Epistle is sung at the quire-step by two of the second rank in their black quire-cloaks. When tracts are said on Candlemas or the Annunciation, it is by the priest and his ministers at the altar privately.[4] On Easter Even the tracts are sung by the quire from alternate sides; with the exception of that after the Epistle, which is sung by two of the second rank in their black quire-cloaks. On Whitsun Eve the same.[5]

The tract in masses of *Requiem eternam*, the body being present, or in a trental, or a year's mind, is sung by four clerks of the second rank in silken copes.[6]

It is evident from this that red vestments were not worn in singing all tracts. Silken copes are only worn by the tract-singers (who are never the rulers of the quire), from Septuagesima to Maundy Thursday, excepting on

have: Throughout Advent and from Septuagesima to Maundy Thursday the deacon and subdeacon wear chasubles at mass, except on Saints' days, for then they ought to wear dalmatic and tunicle; and except on Ember-fasts and vigils, on which they ought to be only in albs; save Whitsun Ember-tide, for then they use dalmatic and tunicle. For the remainder of the year they use dalmatic and tunicle (W. H. Frere, *Use of Sarum*, Cambridge, 1901; vol. ij, p. 149).

[1] *Ibid.*, j, 92. [2] *Ibid.*, 92, 103. [3] *Ibid.*, j, 104.
[4] *Ibid.*, 132, 133. [5] *Ibid.*, 148, 151.
[6] According to the Early 14th century MS. Harleian 1001, in Frere's *Use of Sarum*, j, 212.

those ferials in Lent when tracts are appointed to be sung, the first Sunday in Lent, and Palm Sunday: and also the two feasts of our Lady. The corresponding rubric in the Custumary, which is however a century later, makes the matter clear.[1] There we are told that from Septuagesima to Maundy Thursday, on Sundays and feasts of nine lessons, the tract is sung by four clerks of the upper rank in red silken copes, at the quire-step, with the exception of Candlemas, Annunciation, first Sunday in Lent, and Palm Sunday. Hence it seems clear[2] that we ought to read

> Moreover they use RED vestures on each feast of the Holy Cross, and on every feast of Martyrs; and in singing tracts on simple feasts in Lent; and on Passion Sunday and on Palm Sunday the rulers of the choir use RED copes.

The information that we get from the rubric is meagre, and unfortunately the big inventory of 1214–1222 does not help us, for not only does it tell us nothing of when the various vestments were used, but it rarely gives their colour. But among the copes are "two which are called violette," and further down are two tunicles[3] of blue silk (*de serico indico*), and an embroidered purple chasuble.[4] The other vestments seem to be ranked according to their value, whether "well embroidered," "with a great abundance of pearls," or "beautiful," and so on.

The Lichfield sequence of colours occurs in the statutes of Hugh Pateshull, bishop in 1240 A.D.

> On Christmas Day they must use the MOST PRECIOUS vestments. In Eastertide and in the week of Pentecost the ministers use WHITE dalmatics: the rulers of the choir, moreover, in like wise use WHITE copes on the Annuncia-

[1] *Ibid.*, j, 72.

[2] The Rev. W. S. Isherwood first pointed this out.

[3] And so *not* for Advent or Septuagesima. Perhaps for Confessors, or Holy Women.

[4] Chr. Wordsworth, *Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury*, Cambridge, 1901; pp. 171 sq.

tion, on our Lord's Circumcision, on all feasts of blessed Mary and in octaves and in commemorations of the same, on each feast of St. Michael, and on the feast of any Virgin.

They use RED vestures on each feast of the Holy Cross, and on any feast of Apostles and of Martyrs—except that of St. John at Christmastide—but on the feast of the Epiphany and on Passion and Palm Sundays, the rulers of the choir use RED copes.

The rulers of the choir and the ministers or the altar can use copes of VARIED [? striped, checky, or changeable, *i.e.* "shot"] colour on the feasts of All Saints, and of Confessors, and St. Peter's Chair, and the Nativity of St. John Baptist —— they use RED ones on the Beheading of the same : but on the day of St. Mary Magdalen, and on Sundays from the octaves of the Epiphany till Lent, and from the octave of Easter (*sic*) till the Lord's Advent ACCORDING TO THE WILL OF THE SACRISTAN, when the service is of the Sunday.

Nevertheless, in Advent and in Lent and services of the dead BLACK silken copes must be used.

All these things must be modified according to the means of the church.

There does not seem to be any reasonable doubt that for "from the octave of Easter" we should read "from the octave of Pentecost."

In the third quarter of the 13th century (c. 1260) we have a brief direction for the colours of the copes worn by the rulers of the choir in the Lincoln Consuetudinary.

Let [the sacristan] see that the copes be as the feasts require ; that is to say,

If a Martyr, of whatsoever degree it may be, whether Apostle or Evangelist or Virgin, let the silken copes be RED for the more part.

If a Confessor, of GREEN colour or of BROWN (*fuscus*).

If a Matron or betrothed, of SAFFRON colour : and the principal rulers of the choir ought to use those copes because everything must be settled by the principal.[1]

[1] Chr. Wordsworth, *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, Cambridge, 1892 ; pp. j, 366–7.

We have a large number of inventories of country churches of the thirteenth century, which make it quite clear that no colour sequence could have been observed therein. Take the prebendal churches of St. Paul's, London, for instance. In 1249 to 1252 fifteen of these were visited by the Dean.[1] Three had four suits of vestments ; Willesden, Tillingham, and Heybridge. At the first they seem to have been in good condition. At the second there were two festival suits, and one belonging to the Lady altar ; also two ferial suits, *worn*, an old chasuble of small value, and a yellow choir-cope. Four others had three sets ; as a rule, one, more or less good, used on festivals, another not so good, probably for Sundays, and a third, generally more or less worn out. *Old and feeble*, *feeble and torn*, are the usual descriptions. In one case nothing is said of any vestments at all, and in another there was only one suit, which however was complete and sufficient. The remaining five had only two suits ; one in fair condition, the other old. At Aldbury for example, there was a full vestment, old, "but the chasuble of the same was old and torn, and only fit for a funeral." At Pelham Arsa there was a full vestment with the chasuble old and insufficient, and another one, more old, "scarcely fit for a funeral." At Pelham Furneaux they had one full vestment, another "less festival" with "an old and feeble chasuble of red fustian," and a third "old and insufficient, fit for funerals." In 1297 these churches[2] mostly had three or more decent vestments, one principal or festival, another for Sundays, and a third ferial, sometimes old and worn. At Tillingham there were only two vestments, a principal one apparelled with gold embroidery, and the other for Sundays and festivals. At Drayton there was one for festivals and Sundays and a second "feeble." The colours are not always mentioned, but obviously little stress could be laid on them if they were.

[1] *Camden Miscellany*, 1895 ; vol. ix, pt. j.

[2] *Visitations of Churches belonging to St. Paul's Cathedral, in 1297 and 1458*, Camden Society, 1895.

It is quite clear that in all these inventories the term *vestimentum* signifies a whole suit, and not a chasuble only : *e.g.* at Kirkby there were three " vestments," of which the principal one and another are noted to be *sine casula*.

Of those whose colours are named, the *best suit* was red at Heybridge, Aldbury, Sandon, Cadington, Chiswick, and perhaps at Walton and Willesden ; in the latter two cases the apparels are said to be red, though the colour of the suit is not mentioned ; but often the apparels were of a different hue from the chasuble, &c.

The visitation of the prebendal churches of Salisbury[1] by William de Wanda in 1220 tells pretty much the same tale. Out of a dozen inventories four give four suits, six only two, one only one ; at Heytesbury they had seven chasubles with all their appurtenances, six dalmatics and tunicles, and eight silken copes. But in the other cases there was seldom more than one decent and good suit, the others " old enough and worn." At Mere, for instance, they had

> One pair of vestments sufficient and decent, without a chasuble,
>
> and three vestments ; of which two are sufficient, with silken chasubles, and the third pair of vestments old and worn, with a chasuble of brown colour (*de fuscotincto*) similarly worn.

Nor was this state of things only a feature of the country churches. The visitation of the churches in the patronage of St. Paul's in the City of London itself,[2] repeats the same story in the middle of the twelfth century. Some fifteen of them have been printed. The majority had only two sets, one good, one old. Three had only one vestment, and only one had three. In two other cases it is mentioned that there were three vestments, but the

[1] *Vetus Registrum Osmundi*, Rolls Series, 1883 ; vol. j, p. 275.
[2] *Archaeologia*, 1897 ; lv, pp. 291 sq.

third lacked a chasuble. It is quite evident that no colour sequence could possibly have been carried out under such circumstances.

The prebendal Churches of St. Paul's show in 1250, for the solemn or festal vestment, green at Willesden, red at Chiswick, and for the lesser festal one at Pelham Furneaux: for ferias (or the third vestment) white, at Twyford, St. Pancras, Chiswick and Navestock. In 1297 the principal vestment was red at Tillingham, Heybridge, Aldbury, Sandon, Cadington, and Chiswick. At Willesden the colour of the vestment is not given, but the stole and fanon were of red samite. The Sunday vestment was yellow at St Pancras and perhaps at Willesden. At West Lee the Sunday vestment had green apparels. The ferial vestment was red at Pelham Furneaux, Chiswick, and St. Pancras (perhaps). At Yardley the apparels to the ferial vestment were red. At Drayton they were green.

It is a curious fact that the colour for the principal feasts is rarely mentioned in the medieval English sequences. Take Christmas Day for example. The York rubric only mentions the colour for the Dawn-mass. The Westminster sequence gives the colour for the Cockcrow and the Dawn-masses, but not for the third. At Wells we are told that white is to be used, but not at the Dawn-mass. The explanation is no doubt found in the Lichfield custom of using the most valuable vestments on that day: a rule that is found generalized in the sequence which Grandisson designed for Exeter, and in the fourteenth century Sarum sequence on p. 135. It is, moreover, practically shown, in the inventories in such expressions as, "The best suit of vestments," "our second best suit," and so on. Cloth of gold vestments and frontals were worn on the principal days, regardless of the colour. Lincoln and Sarum Cathedral Churches both had cloth-of-gold fronts for principal feasts in 1536. And the custom may be seen in full vigour in France and Germany of to-day. It may

also be noticed that cloth of gold was worn[1] on very special occasions, not high feasts, in the sixteenth century. Thus at the thanksgiving for the recovery of Francis king of France held in London, 12 November 1535, after mass of the Holy Ghost, and *Te Deum*, the Eucharist was borne in procession, "Paul's choir going all in rich copes of cloth of gold." Similarly at the opening of Parliament on Thursday in Whitsun week, 8 June 1536, the King went to Westminster to hear mass of the Holy Ghost, and was there met by the Abbot and his convent who were "all in rich copes of gold"; and on the following Corpus Christi day in the procession the Abbot's choir followed "after the cross in rich copes of cloth of gold," and then came "all the king's Chapel in rich copes of cloth of gold."

Examination of the inventories shows this same practice of using the best vestments on the highest feasts, regardless of the colour. At All Saints, Bristol,[2] in 1395, the inventory of vestments begins with, "*Item* the best suit of vestments of ciclatouns [a rich figured cloth] of green and blue, with orfrays of striped velvet, price 10 marks." In the list of benefactions, under the head of *John Leynell and Katharin his wife*, about 1474, we read

> Item, moreover, where our second best suit of vestments were of bawdkin, and nothing of fineness unto the best suit, the said Katharin considering this, ordained and hath given, to the honour of Almighty God and of All Hallows, unto this church a finer suit, of blue velvet, with flowers otherwise branches of gold, with orfrays of red velvet and eagles of gold; that is to say, a chasuble, two tunicles, with their albs and amices and their apparels, and two copes according to the same. And it cost £25.[3]

The inventory of St. Nicholas, Bristol,[4] taken 23 June

[1] L. Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England*, Camden Society, 1875–77; vol. j, pp. 32, 46, 48. Cf. pp. 59, 66, 69, &c.

[2] *Archaeological Journal*, 1901; lviij, 171.

[3] Vestry book, in the custody of the Vicar of All Saints, Bristol, p. 143.

[4] *Vellum-leaved Vestry book*, fol. 39 *verso*. In the custody of the Vicar of St. Nicholas.

1519, begins the list of vestments, "*Item*, three copes of the best suit, and a chasuble and two tunicles, of red cloth of tissue. *Item*, two copes of the next best, blue velvet, embroidered, and a chasuble and two tunicles." And Mr. St. John Hope has given a number of similar instances, to which we will add one or two more. Thus, at Ickham Church[1] one John Denys founded a chauntry in 1393, giving it a *principal* vestment, worth 53*s.* 4*d.*; another vestment, 40*s.*; one for *Sundays* with two tunicles, 40*s.*; a *ferial* one, 8*s.*; and a white one *for Lent*, 6*s.* 8*d.* He added a proviso that on principal feasts the churchwardens were to lend one of their "best" vestments for his chauntry priest to use on that day.

At St. Peter Cheap, London, in 1431, they not only had a cope of red cloth of gold for principal feasts, but there were two suits besides,[2] each called "a principal vestment of red cloth of gold": and we find that £62 6*s.* 4*d.* was paid in 1509 by St. Mary Winton College, Oxford,[3] for a suit of vestments of the same material for principal feasts. At St. Dunstan's, Canterbury, in 1500, we read[4] of "the best vestment of blue cloth of tissue, that is to say, a cope, a chasuble, two tunicles, three albs with the paraments, three amices, two tunicles, three fanons, two corporasses, of blue cloth of tissue, of the gift of John Philpott."

We see then that colour sequences and inventories, right through the middle ages up to the religious disturbances of the middle of the sixteenth century, agree in testifying to this custom of wearing the best vestments, &c., on the highest feasts, regardless of their colour, and the custom is still ordered amongst the Black-Friars,[5]

[1] *Litterae Cantuarienses*, Rolls Series, 1887–89; iij, 24.

[2] *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 1868; xxiv, 155, 156.

[3] M. E. C. Walcott, *William of Wykeham and his Colleges*, Winchester and London, 1852; p. 308.

[4] *Gent. Mag.* 1837; ij, 570.

[5] In diebus vero solemnissimis, id est: qui habent Octavas Solemnissimas vel Solemnes, uti possumus pretiosioribus Paramentis cuiuscumque sint coloris, dummodo non sint nigri (*Caeremoniale iuxta ritum S. Ordinis Praedicatorum*, Mechliniae, 1869; p. 159).

where we find a rubric ordering that "on the most important feasts we may use the most precious vestments, whatever their colour may be, so long as it is not black."

Side by side with the practice of grading vestments *according to their splendour and value*, grew up the subsidiary custom of grading them *according to their colour*. The former method only applied to feasts of the first and second rank, the principal and greater doubles of the Sarum rite, and to the daily and post-Epiphany and post-Trinity seasons. In the last group they used up the older vestments, keeping the worst for week-days. We can see this in a large number of Mr. Hope's extracts. Thus they used an *old* yellow cope on Sundays in 1466 at St. Stephen's, Coleman Street: an *old* red one at St. Andrew's, Canterbury, in 1485: an *old* cope with images and letters, and one of cloth of gold, at Exeter in 1506. At John Denys' chauntry at Ickham, of two vestments *the more feeble* one was set aside for ferias, and *the better one* for Sundays and feast-days. At St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, 1466, they used a yellow vestment, and another of *old* cloth of gold on ferial days. At St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich,[1] it was an *old* vestment of green cloth of bawdkin that "serves for every day," about 1506. At All Saints, Derby, the workday suit was also an *old* one. At Hadleigh, Suffolk, it was an *old* red velvet vestment: at Bilbeigh Abbey, Essex, an *old* bawdkin suit. At St. Botolph, Aldgate,[2] there was an *old* cotidial (daily) cope of red bawdkin in 1549.

An interesting example of the way in which a festal vestment when worn and old was consigned to ferial and everyday use has just been printed. At St. Martin's, Ludgate,[3] in the early fifteenth century, they had a single vestment of cloth of gold. Doubtless this was used for

[1] St. John Hope, *Inventories of the Parish Church of St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich*, in *Trans. Norf. and Norwich Archaeol. Soc.*, xiv, 200.

[2] *English Historical Review*, July 1896; p. 524.

[3] *Transactions of St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, 1902; vol. v, pt. ij, pp. 121, 124.

high feasts. But in a later hand there is written against it "ferial." It had fallen from its high estate, and in its worn old age was considered only fit for ferial days.

This practice of using old and shabby vestments on week-days and on the Sundays after the octaves of the Epiphany and after Trinity accounts for the strange variety of colours in use on those days. But what we have said above does not explain the curious exception in the Wells sequence for the Dawn-mass of Christmas Day. There is a memorandum of the Evesham [1] Colour use dating from about 1377, which, though a use of Black Monks, bears strongly on this matter.

> Memorandum that the custom of this Church is to use a WHITE vestment on all feasts of blessed Mary. On the vigils of All Saints and Christmas, on Maundy Thursday, Easter Even and Whitsun Eve, RED ones. The GREAT BLACK chasuble must be used at the high mass on Christmas Day: on the same day at the cockcrow mass, and on Easter Day at the high mass, and on Ascension and Whitsun Days the WHITE chasuble, diapered and embroidered with gold, must be used. On the feast of St. Egwin, on All Souls Day, and on the anniversaries of St. Wulsin and the Kings [Ethelred, Kenred, and Offa], the LESSER BLACK chasuble must be used.

This is an example, more definite than that at Wells, of a custom that was once widespread. Dr. Wickham Legg [2] has pointed out the prevalence of this use of three different colours for the three masses of Christmas Day. This succession of colours was observed in some places at mattins of that day, and also of Easter Day as well: but no instance appears to have been found of it in England.

The following table will set out the facts at a glance:—

[1] *Officium ecclesiasticum abbatum secundum usum Eveshamensis Monasterij*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1893; p. 166.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 167.

Place.	I. Mass at Cockcrow.	II. Mass at Dawn.	III. Mass after Terce.
Latin church at Jerusalem .	Blk.	R.	W.
Evesham c. 1377	W.	[? R.]	Blk.
John Beleth	Blk.	W.	R.
Wells	W.	[? ?]	W.
Corbie and St. German à Prez	R.	W.	W.
Narbonne, 1778 (and before).	V.	W.	R.
Lyons, till c. 1858	V.	W.	R.
Paris, till Revolution, in Metropolitan church . . .	R.	W.	*Fuscus* (*bruns*) but Purple in 1703.[1]

Let us turn now to the use of particular colours for particular days. We have the thirteenth century rules, or rather *memoranda*, showing what was in vogue at the time when they were first written. They rather complete than contradict one another. The Sarum rubric gives white for the whole of Eastertide, including Pentecost. Lichfield has the same. Feasts of our Lady, of Virgins and of Angels are white in both. Feasts of the Cross, of Apostles, and of Martyrs are in red in both : and Lincoln agrees so far as the two last.

Sarum used red for the whole of Passiontide ; and the tract-singers there used red copes on simple feasts in Lent. Lichfield agrees about Passiontide : gives white for the Circumcision, and red for the Epiphany ; for which days Sarum and Lincoln say nothing. We have *varius color* at Lichfield for All Saints, Confessors, the Chair of St. Peter, and the Nativity of St. John Baptist ; and the colour for the Sundays between Epiphanytide and Septuagesima, and for those after Trinity, and for the feast of St. Mary Magdalen, is left to the discretion of the sacristan. Sarum says nothing of these days. Lincoln, however, gives green or brown for Confessors, and yellow for matrons and betrothed.

[1] Paramentis purpureis, ijsque pretiosissimis (*Caeremoniale Parisiense*, Parisijs, 1703 ; p. 131).

The inventories do not give much information ; but such as it is, it does not contradict the *memoranda* except in one particular. At St. Paul's London we have green for confessors in 1245, a yellow and red tunicle for Apostles, black for the dead, and also a white silk vestment with black apparels set aside *ad mortuos*, for the dead. It appears to be really meant for mass of *Requiem eternam*. As we shall see later, a practice grew up of saying other masses besides that of *Requiem* at funerals ; so that there is a possibility that this suit of white may have been used at some other mass. They had a purple chasuble for the chapter mass in 1245, which was usually *pro defunctis*.

At Sarum in 1222 we have a white frontal for feasts of our Lady. At Belchamp,[1] one of the prebendal churches belonging to St. Paul's, they had "a vestment of the blessed Virgin" in 1297 of which the chasuble was made of red sindon. This perhaps was used of necessity rather than of choice, at the altar of our Lady.

At Durham we have a red chasuble for Palm Sunday about 1257. This colour in the next century we shall find very general throughout England on this day. But in the previous century, Simon, abbot of St. Alban's, ordained that on Palm Sunday the Lord's Body should be reverently set in the shrine which he had given them, and carried by one of the brethren vested in a white chasuble to the tent in the Cemetery.[2]

The Lenten veil at this period was usually of linen, but at Sarum it was of silk. Sometimes the linen was striped, as at Walton, Wickham, Drayton, Aldbury, and Thorpe-le-Soken in 1297. At the last-named it was striped blue and white, and at Aldbury blue and black. At Kensworth it had beasts sewn on it, at Pelham Arsa the white linen veil was powdered with black crosses, and at Cadington with red ones.

[1] *Visitations*, etc., p. 38.

[2] Chron. Monast. S. Albani, *Gesta Abbatum Monast. S. Albani*, Rolls Series, 1867 ; j, 191–2.

This use of white linen in Lent marks the beginning of a custom which became universal during the succeeding centuries throughout Great Britain. Not only veils, but the curtains, frontals and even the vestments were of this colour.

This is the direct evidence as to the use of colours in England during the thirteenth century : and it might be fairly legitimately extended if we added the early fourteenth century rules. But these are better considered later. So far as we have gone, all the evidence points to the existence of a general custom developing on Gallican lines in a fairly uniform manner, in the larger churches. In the smaller ones, as we have seen, colour-sequences were scarcely practicable with only two or three suits of vestments. Even in a cathedral church like Lichfield, the *memorandum* on the colours is followed by the caution :—*all these things must be modified according to the means of the Church.*

The Westminster sequence is of considerable interest in itself, but being that of a Benedictine abbey and a church without a diocese, it can hardly be quoted as bearing on English liturgical colours, except to explain or confirm a use for which we have other evidence. Yet it is perhaps possible that it may, more or less, represent the old use of St. Paul's Cathedral Church, for the Black Monks adopted the usages of the diocese in which they found themselves.

The colour-rule was written during the second half of the thirteenth century, and is as follows :—

> It must be known that the colour of the copes and chasubles and dalmatics must be apportioned according to the days and the different feasts, for on Advent Sunday, and other Sundays until Candlemas, or Septuagesima Sunday if it happens before Candlemas, the priest at Evensong, and the hebdomadary of the cope at Mass, shall wear WHITE copes : and the priest of either mass, whether it be of the Sunday or of Christmas, shall wear a WHITE chasuble ; also both the deacon and subdeacon ought to wear WHITE cha-

subles or dalmatics according to what is right for the season, and the apparels of the albs (if they have them) should be of the same colour. Which must in like manner be observed at the mass of the vigil, and at the first and second mass of Christmas Day, and at each mass on the day of the Circumcision, and at the chapter mass on St. Edward's Day, and at each mass on the octave of the same ; and at the chapter mass on the day of the Epiphany and the high mass throughout the octaves. And, until Candlemas, whenever there is a conventual mass of Christmas, or of the Epiphany, or even of the Sunday, unless Septuagesima intervene, or a mass of Blessed Mary be celebrated, the priest's chasuble, the tunic and dalmatic of the ministers, with the cope in quire, and the apparels of the albs (if they have any), should be of WHITE colour ; except when the copes at the bench in the midst of the quire or the chasuble or dalmatics at mass as well, are EMBROIDERED.

Which, moreover, by correct custom must be observed on the day and throughout the octaves of the Lord's Ascension ; and on the vigil and the day, and throughout the octaves, of the Nativity of St. John Baptist, and the Assumption and Nativity of Mary the blessed Theotokos when service of the same feasts is celebrated, and on the feast of blessed [John ?], viz. that the vestments should be of WHITE colour.

On Septuagesima, Sexagesima, and Quinquagesima Sundays, at either mass if they be of the Sunday, the priest's chasuble, and the chasubles of all the ministers at high mass, and the cope in the midst of the quire, should be of a DARK RED (*subrubei*) colour, and in like manner the chasuble at high mass on private days within the same season : which vestments from the first Sunday in Lent until Passion Sunday, as well on Sundays as on private days, shall be altogether of a BLACK or QUASI-BLACK colour, to which also the apparels of the albs (if they have any) shall agree in colour.

On Whitsun Day, moreover, and within the octaves, on the days on which they are not embroidered, the aforesaid vestments shall be SPARKLING (*scintillata*) or RED, or even of SAFFRON or GLAUCOUS colour.

But on Passion Sunday, and thence until the Ascension,

and on the rest of the Sundays throughout the year—except only the aforementioned—when service is of the Sunday, and on the Beheading of St. John Baptist and on both feasts of blessed King Edmund, and blessed Thomas archbishop, and other martyrs of either sex, the vestments shall be altogether RED, or even DARK-RED (*subrubia*), or the like (*etiam huiuscemodi*). But it is more fully explained about the colour of the copes which are usually worn in the Palm Sunday procession, and about the colour of the Vestments at divine worship on the last three days before Easter, under the same days.

On the feast of blessed John before the Latin Gate, the copes of the chaunters at evensong shall be WHITE, and of the priests SAFFRON or GLAUCOUS.

This sequence recognizes the use of embroidered (*i.e.* the best or most precious) vestments on principal feasts, as elsewhere in England. It agrees with the rest of England in the use of red for Passiontide and Martyrs, and white for the Nativity of St. John Baptist and for Our Lady; the Eastertide Red may be paralleled at Wells, and the Whitsuntide glaucous with the green at Gloucester and in the C.C.C.O. MS. The Lenten black or quasi-black agrees with Lichfield. The Westminster inventories shew that in the main their sequence agreed with the rest of England: the chief exceptions being white for Advent and red for Easter and Whitsuntide.

In the Gallican group of sequences the mass on vigils seems generally to have been the same as on the feast. At Westminster they appear to have used green for vigils, at any rate in the sixteenth century: though elsewhere in England the vigil mass, so far as is known, generally took the colour of the feast. But for those who use the Book of Common Prayer it does not seem necessary to use any but the ordinary ferial colour, because the mass on the day before those feasts that have vigils is never of the feast but of the feria. Nor is there any sense in singing the ordinary Sunday mass in white vestments and calling it a special Harvest-thanksgiving mass; or in

singing mass of the Trinity with anthems of Corpus Christi in white, and calling that a mass of Corpus Christi.

Another eccentricity, due to an English bishop, was the singing mass of All Saints in black vestments for a mass of *Requiem*; but this I believe has been discontinued. It is curious that a rather protestant-minded bishop should have sanctioned what he would have regarded (had it been pointed out to him) as a mere medieval superstition: viz. the use of some other votive mass than that of *Requiem* for the benefit of the faithful departed.

14th Century.

We now come to the evidence of the fourteenth century. First there are colour-rules or memoranda, and formal sequences, more or less complete. We have the various rules of the Sarum Custumary, the sequences of Exeter and Wells, and an unusual rule found in one manuscript of the Sarum Custumary at the end of the century.

Then we have the evidence from Inventories and Wills; a much larger and more important mass of information than that sort of documents gave us for the previous century.

In the Sarum Custumary the colour-rubric of the Consuetudinary is amplified considerably.

> In Eastertide the rulers of the choir use WHITE copes, be the service of what it may, except on the Invention of the Holy Cross; similarly on the Annunciation and on the octave and within the octaves of the Assumption and the Nativity of blessed Mary, and in every commemoration of her throughout the year; and on each feast of St. Michael and on the feast of any Virgin: and on the octave and within the octaves of the Dedication of the church, and on the feast of St. John Baptist and the feast of St. Mary Magdalen.
>
> Moreover they use RED silken copes on all Sundays throughout the year out of Eastertide when the service is of the Sunday, and on each feast of the Holy Cross and

on any feast of Martyrs, Apostles and Evangelists out of Eastertide, and in singing tracts.

But on the feast of St. John the Apostle and [*sic*] in Christmas-week the rulers of the choir use WHITE copes.

But on all feasts of one or of many Confessors they use silken copes of SAFFRON colour.[1]

In another part of this document, describing the mass for Advent Sunday, after stating that the deacon and subdeacon wear chasubles daily throughout Advent, and from Septuagesima to Maundy Thursday, when the mass is of the season, save on a vigil or in Embertide, it continues :—

But in other times of the year when mass is of the season, and on saints' days throughout the year, the deacon and subdeacon use dalmatic and tunicle, save on vigils and in Embertide and on Good Friday ; for then let them wear albs with amices. Nevertheless it must be noted that in Eastertide, be the mass of what it may, save on the Invention of the Holy Cross, the ministers of the altar use WHITE vestments at mass. Similarly let it be done on the Annunciation and Conception of Blessed Mary, and on each feast of St. Michael, on the feast or St. John in Christmas week, and throughout the octaves and on the octave of the Assumption and Nativity of blessed Mary, and on every commemoration of the same, and throughout the octaves and on the octave of the Dedication of the church, and on the feast of any Virgin throughout the year.

But they use RED vestments on all Sundays throughout the year out of Eastertide when the service is of the Sunday, and on Ash Wednesday and on Maundy Thursday, and on each feast of the Holy Cross, and on any feast or Martyrs, Apostles and Evangelists out of Eastertide.

But on all feasts of one or more Confessors they use vestments of SAFFRON colour.[2]

And further on is a statement that in votive masses for the departed the deacon and subdeacon wear only albs and amices :—

[1] Frere, *Use of Sarum*, j, 27.
[2] *Ibid.* j, 63.

> Which shall alway be observed in masses for the departed, unless for a body present, and in anniversaries of bishops and on All Souls' day. For then they use BLACK dalmatics and tunicles. And the priest wears a chasuble similarly.[1]

The sequence which John Grandisson set out for his diocese of Exeter about 1337 is not only very complete, but marks a departure from the former schemes that we have been discussing. Ostensibly, the sequence is "according to the custom of the Court of Rome"; but on examination we shall find that it embodies other traditions, probably those of the Church of Exeter.

John Grandison[2] had been chaplain to pope John XXII. In 1327 we hear of him as papal ambassador in London: and he was consecrated bishop of Exeter by a papal bull of provision, dated 28 August 1327, although the chapter of Exeter had elected John Godlee, then dean of Wells. He was consecrated at Avignon and arrived in England 3 February 1328. It is not surprising, therefore, to find him imbued with papal predilections, nor that they should be apparent in his choice of a colour sequence. But that during his thirty odd years' tenure of his see he succeeded in impressing the Roman sequence on the cathedral church is more than doubtful; we do not even know that he tried to. But we will return to this after setting forth the sequence itself.

> Of the change of the colour of the vestments.
>
> There are four or six varieties of the colours of the vestments according to the custom of the Roman Court, viz. WHITE (*candidus*), RED, GREEN or SAFFRON, VIOLET (*violacius*), BLUE or BLACK (*blauus vel niger*). And each of these colours must be so considered if the greater part (which is called the ground of the cloth) be of it, even though it be mixed with GOLD or some other colour. Whence each of these colours must be used as is here-below contained: yet so that those mixed with GOLD and MORE SPLENDID be worn

[1] Frere, *Use of Sarum*, j, 102.

[2] See the *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xxij, 371–2.

on the greater feasts in their own place, and the plain and MORE SIMPLE on the more simple feasts.

Nevertheless, if they have any vestments that are particularly PRECIOUS, and beautiful to look at, as perchance some embroidered with images or singularly adorned with a variety of colours, the same must be used on the very highest feasts.

But the remaining colours must be used in this manner, viz. Advent Sunday to Christmas Eve inclusive, VIOLET [vestments] must be used. Similarly from Septuagesima to Maundy Thursday, *or according to some* till Passion Sunday. Also on Good Friday till after the solemn orisons are said, and on Easter Even and Whitsun Eve just while the lessons and tracts are said : Also on Rogation Days, and other fast-days of the Church throughout the year, and in processions or masses on account of some distress ; and on the Beheading of St. John Baptist because he descended to Limbus, VIOLET colour must be used so that it be livid and tending to blackness. Yet if there be any [vestments] mixed with gold let them be specially worn on the first and third Sundays in Advent and the fourth in Lent.

But from the octaves of the Epiphany till Septuagesima, GREEN [vestments] must be used whenever the service is of the season. And in the same manner it must be done from the first Sunday after Trinity till Advent whenever the service is of the Sunday or of the feria : excepting on vigils of saints' days and in September Embertide, when let them wear VIOLET.

On Christmas Day ; the feast of St. John the Evangelist ; the sixth day after Christmas ; and on the day of the Circumcision *according to some* ; on the octave of St. John the Evangelist, on the vigil and feast and throughout the octaves of the Epiphany ; at Candlemas and all other feasts of blessed Mary, and the octaves and commemorations of the same : also on Maundy Thursday when the bishop hallows the Cream they must use WHITE [vestments], otherwise RED : also on Easter Even, save while the lessons and tracts are being said, for then they use VIOLET ones : and on Easter Day and thence to the octave of the Ascension : also on the Nativity of St. John Baptist and throughout the octaves when the service is of that feast : on the feasts of St.

Gabriel, and all those of St. Michael : similarly on all feasts of Virgins who were not Martyrs ; they must use WHITE or GLISTENING (*albis seu candidis*) vestments. But on Whitsun Eve after the lessons and tracts [let] the priest [wear] a RED cope for blessing the font, and thenafter he with his ministers at mass, and afterwards at evensong and throughout the whole of Whitsun week [wear RED] until evensong of the Saturday following, and on the feast of the Holy Cross ; also on all feasts of Apostles, Evangelists and Martyrs and throughout their octaves when the service is of them. *And according to some*, RED vestments ought to be used during Passion-tide, and on Maundy Thursday if the bishop should not celebrate.

Nevertheless, on the Conversion of St. Paul, the Chair of St. Peter, and certain other double feasts of saints which fall within Advent, or between Septuagesima and Easter ; and on the feast of St. Mary Magdalen *according to some* ; they may not unsuitably wear vestments of AZURE, i.e. sky-blue or blue colour (*indici, id est aërei coloris vel blaui*), if they have any beautiful ones. Nevertheless on the feast of St. Mary Magdalen *some use* WHITE, *and some* SAFFRON vestments.

If they have any beautiful GREEN vestment, with copes, tunicles and dalmatics in sufficient number for so great a feast, let it be used on Trinity Sunday : otherwise let them wear altogether WHITE, or GLISTENING (*candida*).

But on the feast of Corpus Christi and throughout the octaves, on account of the similitude of bread and wine, and the Body and Blood of Christ, who is white and ruddy, a mixture of WHITE (*candidis*) together with RED must be used : so that the two principal rulers use WHITE (*candidis*) [copes] and the others, the secondaries, RED ones. But the priest who performs the service shall wear WHITE vestments both at mass and at evensong, and his collateral for the censing a RED [cope], and the deacons at mass RED [dalmatics] and the subdeacons WHITE [tunicles], in such a way that the more conveniently WHITE and RED may be equally divided. In the same way let it be done on feasts of Virgin-Martyrs.

But on the feast of All Saints and of Relics, and of the Dedication of the Church ALL COLOURS must be used indifferently, yet so that WHITE (*candidum*) and RED predominate.

As a general rule, therefore, as appears from the foresaid, RED [vestments] must be used on the feasts of Apostles, Evangelists and Martyrs. But on feasts of Confessors, SAFFRON or GREEN ones, which shall be considered the same. Moreover on feasts of Virgin-Martyrs, partly WHITE and partly RED [vestments], or of the same colours MIXED. On feasts of Virgins who were not Martyrs, altogether WHITE. In Advent, Septuagesima and Lent, also on vigils of saints'-days, and Emberdays (out of Whitsuntide), and on Rogations, VIOLET vestments. On Sundays between the Epiphany and Septuagesima, and on all Sundays through the summer, when the service is of the season, GREEN [vestments] must be used.

But they must use BLACK colour on Good Friday after the creeping to the Cross, and in all services of the dead, and likewise in place of VIOLET [vestments] where there are none. Nevertheless in solemn services for the dead, and even at their burial, VIOLET colour may be used fitly enough.

Moreover, should they perchance have any other vestments of a variegated and indefinite colour, let them be put to use according to their beauty and value, by the judgement of the seniors; saving the other vestments in the meantime.

There is a very complete sequence in the Wells *Ordinale et Statuta* of 1340. It is followed by some brief directions concerning the colours, and a detailed table of the colours worn on saints' days, giving the colour or colours for each day; this table is of great importance, as it enables us to correct some corruptions of the text of the sequence proper. But first we will give that as it stands, obelizing the corrupt passages:

A kalendar of the use and change of the colours of the vestments as the feasts and seasons of the whole year require in the Church of Wells.

On Advent Sunday, and throughout all Advent when the choir is ruled † let all be AZURE [*media*, a copyist's error for *India*, as the detailed table clearly shows], save only that on Ember Wednesday at mass let the deacon and subdeacon wear WHITE vestments.

On Christmas Day, all WHITE, except at the second mass. On St. Stephen's day, all RED. On St. John the Evangelist's day, all AZURE and WHITE. On Holy Innocents' day, all RED. On St. Thomas the Martyr's day, all RED. On St. Sylvester's day, all GREEN and SAFFRON.

On the feast of the Lord's Circumcision let the principal rulers of the choir be in WHITE vestments, and the others, the secondaries, in RED vestments; at *Magnificat* and *Benedictus* let the first [priest who censes wear] RED, and the other WHITE, at mass the three principal rulers in RED vestments, and the two secondary, one in WHITE and the other in RED vestments.

On the octave of St. Stephen, as on the day.

On the octave of St. John the Apostle, as on the day.

On the octave of Holy Innocents, as on the day.

On the octave of St. Thomas the Martyr, as on the day.

On the Lord's Epiphany, throughout the octaves, and on the octave, all in WHITE as on Christmas Day.

On the first Sunday after [*prius*, obvious error for *post*] the octave of the Epiphany till Septuagesima, when the Service is of the season, all shall be RED.

On Septuagesima Sunday till the Lord's Passion when the service is of the season, all [a word is lost here, probably AZURE, as in Advent].

On Passion Sunday all RED. On Palm Sunday all in RED, except a cope of BLACK for the use of Caiaphas [*i.e.* he who takes that part in singing the Passion]. On Maundy Thursday all RED, with a white banner. On Good Friday the deacon and subdeacon [shall wear] RED vestments or PURPLE. On Easter Even all RED.

On Easter Day all RED. On Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday, all RED. On Low Sunday all in WHITE vestments. On all Sundays from the octave of Easter Day till the Lord's Ascension, when the service is of the season, all in RED vestments. On the Vigil of the Ascension, on the day, throughout the octaves and on the octave, and also on Sunday within the octave, all WHITE, both vestments and for the altar.

On Sunday† after the octave of the Ascension, all RED. On Whitsun Eve, and on the day, and throughout the whole week following all in vestments of RED colour.

On Trinity Sunday, all RED.

On Thursday after Trinity Sunday, that is to say, on the feast of Corpus Christi, all RED. Throughout the whole octaves of Corpus Christi, all RED.

On the first Sunday after Trinity and on all Sundays till the Lord's Advent when the service is of the season, all in RED vestments.

On the Dedication of the Church, AZURE and WHITE.[1]

Then after a detailed list of the colours for saints' days follow three memoranda :

Memorandum that as a general rule when the service is of an Apostle or a Martyr everything is RED. When of a Confessor, everything AZURE and GREEN, mingled so that they can be suited to the feast as becomingly and suitably as may be. When of a Virgin *not* a Martyr all shall be WHITE. When of a Virgin-Martyr, RED and WHITE.

Memorandum that when the service of the Holy Ghost, or the Commemoration of St. Andrew, is celebrated, all is RED. Also when a Commemoration of blessed Mary, or for peace, all is WHITE.

Memorandum that when a service for the departed is held, everything shall be BLACK and SIMPLE, even though it be for a king or a bishop, and so it shall be at a funeral.[2]

This *Ordinale et Statuta* of Wells is in great part an almost verbatim copy of the Sarum Consuetudinary, but here and there are deliberate adaptations of that document to fit the customs of the Church of Wells. Thus under the heading *De habitu clericorum per totum annum* the colour rubric is altered to fit the Wells sequence.

In Eastertide the ministers of the altar use RED dalmatics and tunicles at mass. The rulers of the choir, likewise, RED copes.

On the Annunciation, and on every feast of blessed Mary, on the octaves, and within the octaves, and in commemorations of the same, and on each feast of St. Michael,

[1] H. E. Reynolds, *Wells Cathedral*, Leeds, 1881 ; pp. 95, 96.
[2] *Ibid.*, 103.

and on the feast of the Dedication of the Church and through the octaves, and on each feast of St. John the Evangelist, and on the feast of any Virgin [*nigris*, an obvious error for *virginis*] they use WHITE [vestments].

But they use RED vestments on each feast of the Holy Cross, and on any feast of Apostles and Martyrs, on the feast of the Holy Trinity, on Corpus Christi and through the octaves, on all Sundays through the summer, and from *Domine ne in ira* [2nd Sunday after Epiphany] till Septuagesima, when the service is of the Sunday. But in singing tracts on simple feasts in Lent [they use such vestments] as are suitable to the feast. On Passion and Palm Sundays the rulers of the choir use RED copes.

On the feast of St. Mary Magdalen, of St. Anne, and of every Confessor they use copes of a GREEN or SAFFRON colour.[1]

The text of the Wells Customs-book as we have it is very corrupt, and badly copied. There is an obvious corruption in the rule for the Advent colour. Its existence is suggested when we read that all is azure *whenever the choir is ruled, excepting only Ember Wednesday* ; for on that day there are no rulers. The case is clear when we look at the detailed kalendar, for there we find "St. Nicholas, all green and saffron; Conception, white; St. Lucy, red ; St. Thomas, Ap., red." All these fall in Advent; the choir is ruled on all four days, and each keeps its own colour, and *not* azure. The inclusion of Ember Wednesday would therefore cause us to add to "when the choir was ruled" some expression so as to make it read "both when the choir was ruled, and when not": and the fact that Saints'-days kept their own colour, the phrase "when the service was of the season." Instead of using red copes for the tract singers on simple feasts in Lent as at Sarum, they used the colour agreeable to the feast. And feasts both in Lent and Eastertide kept their own colour at Wells, as the kalendar shows.

From the detailed kalendar we learn too that certain

[1] H. E. Reynolds, *Wells Cathedral*, Leeds, 1881 ; 5.

Confessors and other days were kept in azure. They were St. Bennet, St. Petrock, Nativity of St. John Baptist and his octave, the Translation of St. Bennet, St. Wulfarn (in October), St. Leonard, St. Machutus, and the octave (but *not* the day) of St. Martin. How far the last can be trusted may be questioned, for against the feast of St. Edmund K.M. is "all green and saffron," though the octave has rightly "all red."

The two feasts of St. Michael are both in azure and white, and the feast of Relics (in October) is in red and white. But there is no example of "azure and green" in the detailed kalendar, as we find directed in the Memorandum for Confessors. Some days have saffron only, some green, and some both[1]; and some, as we have seen, have azure. Probably we ought to correct the memorandum accordingly.

The passage in the colour sequence running: "On Sunday after the octave of the Ascension, all red," is also corrupt. The octave has just been mentioned, and immediately there follows the rule for Whitsun Eve, and for Whitsunday, which is the next Sunday after the octave of the Ascension. It seems clear therefore that "Sunday" is there an error for "Friday."

This Wells sequence contains the only English reference known of a practice which was widespread on the continent, viz. that of having the Passions chanted at mass by three separate persons (or groups of persons) vested in different coloured vestments. In most churchwardens' accounts of the larger churches in the later years of the fifteenth century, and during the

[1] Bishop Thomas de Bekynton of Wells objected to the diversity of colours in procession, and in 1464 gave £400 to make twenty blue velvet and twenty blue damask copes with red orfrays, gold flowers and other embroideries, and a whole suit for priest, two deacons and two subdeacons, and hangings for the high altar, of similar cloths, so that the canons and vicars might go in procession in one similar and uniform apparel and not always in such diverse suits (*Somerset Medieval Wills*, Somerset Record Society, 1901; xvi, 202). He also gave them his *best* vestment of precious cloth of gold and green velvet, with orfrays of red cloth of gold.

sixteenth until the accession of Somerset to power, it is usual to find a payment for wine for the clerks, singers, or priests, who sang the Passion in the roodloft on Palm Sunday.[1] And the Sarum massbooks of the same period make provision for this manner of chanting Passions. They are divided up by certain letters *a*, *b*, and *m*; which the rubric tells us indicate the three different voices to be employed, high (*alta*), low (*bassa*) and medium (*mediocri voce*). The high voice is for the words of the Jews, or of the disciples. In parish churches, this was no doubt sung by the group of singers in the roodloft. The words of our Lord are marked *b*, and were sung perhaps by the deacon, perhaps by another, the narrative of the evangelist being marked *m*, and sung in a medium tone, perhaps by one of the priests whom we hear of in the roodloft, or perhaps by the deacon.

It may be of interest to point out in illustration of this that as late as the eighteenth century the Passions were sung in this way in the Cathedral Church of St. Maurice, Angers.[2] On Good Friday, the deacon chanted the narrative at the base of the quire: a canon vested in a girded alb of yellow silk, with his apparelled amice drawn over his head, sang the words of our Lord, and the choir in the Jubé or roodloft sang the rest.

At Long Melford, a priest standing by the rood in the loft, sang the Passion [3] on Good Friday: though whether alone or together with others is left untold. But, except at Wells, we hear nothing of the custom of divers coloured vestments. The "part of Caiaphas" is no doubt the same as that indicated by the letter *a*, the crowd of Jews, and also the disciples. The deacon was

[1] *E.g.* All Saints', Bristol, 1472–73: In primis, on Palm Sunday for a pottle of "osey" for the priests and clerks that sang the Passion in the roodloft, 6*d.* (*MS. Accounts at All Saints'*). St. Nicholas', Bristol 1533–34: Pd. for a pottle of muscadel upon Palm Sunday for priests and clerks for singing of the Passion 6*d.* (*MS. Accounts at St. Nicholas'*).

[2] De Moleon, *Voyages Liturgiques*, Paris, 1757; p. 96.

[3] J. P. Neale, *Views of . . . Churches*, London, 1825; vol. ij, Melford, p. 13.

wearing a red chasuble folded over his left shoulder and gathered like a stole under his right arm ; at least, according to the rule. And of the other singer we know nothing. In Burchardt's days the usage of three deacons to chant the Passion seems to have been well established in the Papal Chapel.[1] But that pious man was very disturbed by a ritualistic Sacristan, who on Palm Sunday, 1486, arranged that the three chanters wore albs with red, black and violet stoles respectively, and Master Burchardt was not able to stop it in time. Next year there were only two violet stoles available, so they had to use one red one to make up. In 1489 the "abuse" occurred again, owing to the obstinacy of the Sacristan, but in 1490 the 'pious' Burchardt managed to have all three in violet stoles, "by my great diligence, the Sacristan opposing and being unwilling." In other places this usage was common. The evangelist's words were sung by one in a white stole, the Jews' by one in red, and those of our Lord by one in black.[2]

The use of black for him who sang the words of our Lord is probably explained by its being the Passiontide colour. At Wells this was red, and the "crowd" was sung by one in a black silk cope. For the rest of England, as was said before, we have no information concerning either the vesture of these additional singers or its colour.

At the end of the 14th century we find an unusual colour sequence. It occurs in a Sarum Ordinal, Custumary, and Tonal, now at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and presents many interesting features.

> On Christmas Day, the Epiphany, Easter Day, Whitsunday, Ascension Day, Trinity Sunday, the feast of Relics, the Assumption, Dedication, and All Saints, the rulers of the choir use the MOST SOLEMN copes of mixed colours.

[1] Catalani, *Sacr. Caerem. S.R.E. Liber*, Romae, 1751 ; t. ij, 152.

[2] *Ibid.*, 151. In some foreign churches they used to divide up the Passions between the Deacon, the Celebrant and the Subdeacon, when there were not other chanters available.

The ministers of the altar use dalmatics and tunicles in like manner; except that on the day of the Epiphany it does not matter of what colour the dalmatic and tunicle be, so long as they be sprinkled with stars.

Also on the three days immediately following Christmas Day, on Monday and Tuesday in Easter and Whitsun weeks, they use the SECOND MOST SOLEMN copes. Nevertheless on St. Stephen's Day and the Holy Innocents and on their octaves [the ministers of the altar use] RED dalmatics and tunicles. And on the feast of St. John the Evangelist in Christmas week [they use] WHITE dalmatics and tunicles, and on the octave of the same dalmatics and tunicles of the same colour, with WHITE copes [for the rulers of the choir]. And on the Monday of Easter and Whitsun weeks they must use WHITE dalmatics and tunicles.

On the feasts, however, of the Circumcision, of Candlemas, of the Annunciation, and from Wednesday in Easter and Whitsun weeks throughout the [rest of the] week, and throughout the octaves and on the octave of the Ascension, on all Sundays and other feasts in Eastertide, save only on the Invention of the Holy Cross; also on the Nativity of St. John Baptist, within the octaves and on the octave of the Assumption and the Nativity of blessed Mary and in commemorations of the same, and on each feast of St. Michael, and in the octaves of the Dedication; also on feasts of Virgins and of St. Mary Magdalen, the rulers of the choir and the ministers of the altar use WHITE (*candidis*) vestments.

Within the octaves of the Epiphany and on its octave, and on each feast of the Holy Cross; on all other feasts of Apostles, Evangelists, and Martyrs, out of Eastertide, and on all Sundays out of the said tide when the service is of the Sunday, and in singing tracts, they use RED copes, dalmatics, and tunicles. But in masses for the departed, when the ministers of the altar wear dalmatics and tunicles, they only use BLACK ones. On Easter Even, and Whitsun Eve, and in singing genealogies, they wear dalmatics and tunicles TRANSVERSELY STRIPED.

On Wednesday in Whitsun week they use GREEN (*viribus*†) dalmatics and tunicles.[1]

[1] Frere, *Use of Sarum*, j, 26, *note* e.

This curious sequence may be compared with an inventory of the ornaments of the altar of St. Thomas at Salisbury Cathedral Church [1] dated 18 October 1389, and so of about the same date.

There were thirteen complete pairs of vestments: of which "the first best" was of white cloth of gold, "the second best" of silk ornamented with birds, "the third best" of red colour ornamented with golden birds, "the fourth best" of silk with vine leaves. The fifth vestment was of white silk striped: the sixth, for angels, of white colour powdered. The seventh had red tunicles and dalmatics. The eighth was green. The ninth was glaucous, *for Confessors*. The tenth striped, *for Sundays*; the eleventh white, *for commemorations of St. Mary*; the twelfth, *for ferial days*, powdered of stained colour; and the last was *for ferials in Lent*.

Here, in the cathedral church itself, we have the better vestments graded according to their value or splendour rather than their colour. It agrees with the older memoranda in the use of white for angels and our Lady; and glaucous for Confessors is liturgically the same as saffron or green. But for Sundays we have a striped vestment instead of a red one. Note, also, the use of a special vestment for *Lenten* ferias, in addition to the ordinary ferial vestment; and that it was for weekdays, and not Sundays, in Lent.

We can now proceed to the consideration in detail of the colours for this period.

For the season of Advent we have the Roman-Exeter violet, the Wells azure, and the Sarum red, unless we exclude Advent and Lent from the persistent statements that at Sarum all Sundays out of Eastertide were to be in red when the service was of the Sunday. The fourteenth century York rubrics [2] order red copes on Ember

[1] Chr. Wordsworth, *Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury*, Cambridge, 1901; pp. 298–9.

[2] *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis*, Surtees Society, 1874; vol. j, pp. 10, x.

Wednesday in Advent for the senior vicar who reads the fifth scripture lesson at mass, and for the two who sing the tract. The Exeter inventory of 1327 contains a purple chasuble, and two copes of the same colour, and another violet cope, for Advent and Septuagesima, which is evidence that these less festal colours were worn there before Grandisson's time. But Ember Wednesday was white at Wells for the mass, no doubt on account of the special mention of our Lady in it.

The Christmas colour was white at Exeter, Wells (except at the Dawn-mass), and York (for the Dawn-mass, and the sixth day after Christmas). Of the Sarum Christmas colour we know nothing from the ordinary rules, but in the C.C.C.O. MS. the most solemn vestments are appointed for Christmas and other principal feasts, as at Exeter and at Lichfield in the foregoing century.

St. Stephen's day was red everywhere, but the second best copes were allowed by the C.C.C.O. MS., as on the next two days. In the same way the feast of St. John in Christmas week seems to have been always white, instead of the usual red for Apostles.

Childermas, or Holy Innocents' Day, was everywhere red in England.

The colour for the Circumcision is white in the Exeter rule, "according to some": it was the Roman use, as of a very large number of others. The C.C.C.O. MS. gives white, but Wells white and red. It is evident from the Exeter rule that Grandisson knew of divergencies, but he does not make it clear whether the use of Exeter itself was white, or not white.

The rules of Exeter and Wells give white as the Epiphany colour. The C.C.C.O. MS. orders the best vestments for the day itself, but red throughout the octaves; and we have seen that red was used at Lichfield in the thirteenth century. It is most instructive to notice that although Grandisson, more or less fresh from abroad, prescribed white as the Epiphany colour in 1337,

yet in his will about thirty years later he left a red and gold suit for that day. The ordinary Sarum rubric says nothing of the colour on this day, but the C.C.C.O. MS. prefers precious vestments "adorned with stars" on the day itself, whatever their colour may be.

With the close of Epiphanytide the season of Christmas ends, so far as the festal character of the services is concerned. At Wells the colour was changed from white to red, and at Exeter the rule prescribes green. At Sarum it was undoubtedly red on the Sundays. In practice, however, as we have already said, the Sunday and weekday colours after Epiphany and Trinity tides were extremely variable, owing to the practice of using the more shabby vestments on these occasions.[1] For Sundays we find red at Durham, white at St. Mary's Chantry in York Minster Church, blue at that of SS. Paulinus and Chad in the same, cloth of gold at Same Island, and Meaux Abbey. For weekdays, black, white, and cloth of gold, and blue occur in the inventories.

From Septuagesima to Lent we have the Sarum rule for red; the Exeter rule for violet; with purple and violet both in the inventory of 1327; and the probable use of azure at Wells.

Ash Wednesday was red at Sarum. The colour at Wells appears to have been the same as during Septuagesima, but at Exeter in 1327 they had an ashen cope for use on that day. The later rule seems to prescribe violet, but of course as the custom of the Roman Curia. Still, they used purple in Septuagesima before Grandisson's time, as we saw above; and so it would seem clearly to have been an old Exeter custom embodied in his new rule. For Lent we have the same rules as for the

[1] However, Bishop Bekynton of Wells in 1464 left a green (sic) suit for Sundays of red cloth of gold (*de panno auri cuius campus est coloris rubri*) which contained 5 copes &c. to the Hospital of St. Katharin by the Tower of London (*Somerset Medieval Wills*, Somerset Record Society, 1901; xvj, 204). Perhaps the *orfrays* were of red cloth of gold. He gave a Sunday vestment of green satin with orfrays of that material to the parish church of Bekynton (*Ibid.*, 205).

three preceeding Sundays: red at Sarum, azure (?) at Wells, violet or purple at Exeter.

But the inventories tell of another colour coming more and more into use, viz. white: not only for the Lenten veil, but for the altar hangings and the vestments as well.[1] It is found at the high altar as well as at nether altars, in regular and secular churches alike. To the examples of the fourteenth century which Mr. St. John Hope gives us we can with probability add a white vestment found among the goods of Thomas duke of Gloucester at Pleshy, Essex, that contained three chasubles, and riddels of tartaron sprinkled with red crosses;[2] and in the previous year at Meaux Abbey, a set of three white chasubles of fustian.[3] Although it is not stated that they are for Lent, the presence of the three chasubles shows that they must have been used either then or in Advent or Septuagesima.

The Lenten veil was commonly white, but at Windsor in 1384, and All Saints, Bristol,[4] in 1395 it was paly of blue and white. At Westminster in 1388 it was half blue, half yellow. According to the Consuetudinary of the 13th century it was hung up on the Saturday preceding the first Sunday in Lent, but in the fourteenth century Custumary the day is given as the following Monday.[5] It does not really make much difference, for the Lenten veil was always raised for all services of Sundays and festivals. On that Monday all crosses, images, and relics, and even the vessel the Eucharist was hung in, were covered

[1] Dr. Wickham Legg was the first to draw attention to the fact that the only point on which the inventories were unanimous is the use of white for Lent (*History of the Liturgical Colours*, 54).

[2] *Archaeological Journal*, 1897; liv, 292–3.

[3] *Chronicon de Melsa*, Rolls Series, 1869; iij, lxxxj. At Westminster, 1388, they had a *white* chasuble for Sundays in Advent and Lent *quando de dominica agitur* at the capitular mass, and a white suit of a cope and three chasubles, for the high mass on the same occasions. Abbot Ware's Custumary prescribed black for Lent, so that the English use of lenten white had invaded this Benedictine abbey (*Archaeologia*, 1890; lij, 269–70).

[4] *Archaeological Journal*, 1901; lviij, 173.

[5] Frere, *Use of Sarum*, j, 139.

with veils until Mattins of Easter Day.[1] It will be better to defer the discussion as to the days, whether Sunday or weekday, or both, when these white Lenten vestments were worn. But we can see from Mr. Hope's examples that the whole of the imagery, etc., in the church was veiled in these white veils: and in the 14th century they were commonly ornamented with a red cross. Altar hangings, vestments and veils were, in fact, all of one suit in a great many cases. Passiontide was probably everywhere in red. It is ordered at Wells, and is noted at Exeter as being used *according to some*, i.e. not at Rome but at Exeter, according to the general practice of the Gallican rites. An *Ordo Romanus* of the 13th century[2] tells us that though the Gallican Churches used red on Palm Sunday, yet the Roman Church used violet. Red was the colour in the Jerusalem sequence, as we have already seen.

At York in the 14th century the archbishop wore a white silk stole and cope for the Palm Sunday procession, and the Eucharist was carried by a priest in a silvern cope.[3] White was also used at St. Albans[4] on this day in the 12th century. At Wells they were all in red, save him who took the part of Caiaphas in the Passion, who wore a black cope. At Sarum, too, red was the Passiontide colour. Maundy Thursday was red at Sarum and Wells; and, when the bishop did not hallow the oils, also at Exeter. For Good Friday we have red at Wells, and probably at Sarum (I have not examined any 14th century Sarum MS. massbook). At Exeter we have, in the rule, the Roman violet, and the use of red "according to some," as far as the solemn biddings and orisons, after which, black. For Easter Even we have red at Wells throughout the service. At York it was white.

The 14th century MS. of the Sarum Consuetudinary

[1] *Ibid.*, 138.
[2] Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, Paris, 1689; t. ij, p. 237.
[3] *Missale Ebor.*, j, 84, 87.
[4] *Gesta Abbatum Mon. Sti. Albani*, Rolls Series, j, 191–2.

gives some interesting directions for the vestments to be used on Easter Even.[1] The altars are to be adorned in a festal manner. Albs are to be worn[2] by all who read or sing at the quire-step, *ad instar angelorum qui in albis apparuisse leguntur.* The ministers of the altar are also vested in festal garments, but the officiant, who is going to perform the solemn baptisms, is directed to wear shabby (*vilioribus*) vestments till the mass; but if there is not any baptising to be done he must wear the best vestments. For hallowing the new fire he wears a silk cope,[3] but its colour is not given. During the lessons he is vested in a "mediocre" chasuble:[4] and the deacon and subdeacon apparently wore tunicles of poor value at this portion of the service, for later on we read that at the office of the mass the priest was to remove the chasuble which he was wearing for the collects, etc., after the consecration of the Pascall, and to put on a festal chasuble, and the rest of the ministers also put on festal array.[5]

At Exeter the rule prescribes violet for the lessons and tracts, and white afterwards.

At Sarum the whole of Eastertide was in white, including all festivals whatsoever except Holyrood day. The C.C.C.O. MS. orders the *best* vestments for use on Easter, Ascension and Whitsun days; the *second best* copes for the Monday and Tuesday in Easter and Whitsun weeks, but white dalmatics and tunicles, and white vestments for the rest of the season. At Exeter the rule gives white, except for Rogation days, and for Whitsun Eve during the lessons and tracts, when it has violet, and for the blessing of the font on Whitsun Eve, till the first evensong of Trinity Sunday, when it has red. Grandisson left a red suit for the Epiphany, Pentecost and the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, to his church of Exeter. At Wells they kept the whole of Eastertide in

[1] Frere, *Use of Sarum*, j, 144 *seq.* [2] *Ibid.*, 145.
[3] *Ibid.*, 146. [4] *Ibid.*, 148. [5] *Ibid.*, 151–2.

red, excepting Low Sunday, and from the vigil of Ascension Day to the octave, both inclusive, which were all in white. At York they used white on the vigils of Easter and Pentecost, so that probably the whole season was there in white, as at Sarum....In the C.C.C.O. MS. striped dalmatics and tunicles are ordered for the two vigils. On the Continent Pentecost is everywhere red, so that the use of white is peculiarly English. It even appears at a Benedictine church like Evesham. They had a green samite vestment for Pentecost at the Benedictine abbey of Gloucester in 1329 : but this was a regular and not a secular church. However, the C.C.C.O. MS. prescribes green dalmatics and tunicles for Wednesday in Whitsun week, but white for the rest of the vestments.

Trinity Sunday probably kept to the Whitsuntide colour. It was red at Wells, white at Exeter ; but Grandisson makes the interesting suggestion that if they have any beautiful green vestment sufficient for such a feast, it should be used ; otherwise white. In the C.C.C.O. MS. the best vestments are prescribed ; and this was probably the practice in most places.

Sundays and weekdays after Trinity took the same colour as those after Epiphanytide. Saints'-days, commemorations, and votive masses took up the greater part of this season : but they kept their own colour, or else were kept in old vestments.

We now come to the colours used in the 14th century for Saints'-days. White appears both in rules and elsewhere for our Lady. The only exception is a cope of red samite and two striped tunicles for the commemoration of SS. Mary and Chad. And for Virgins not Martyrs, the only exception to white is at the Cistercian abbey of Meaux in 1396, where they had a sky-blue vestment for those days.

For Confessors we have the Sarum rule of saffron, the Wells rule of azure, green, and saffron, either alone or in combination ; saffron or green at Exeter ; green at Canterbury in 1315 ; azure at Durham c.

1310; black at Westminster (for St. Bennet) in 1388; and glaucous at Sarum in 1389.

Apostles, Evangelists, and Martyrs are always in red according to the rules and the inventories, excepting at Sarum, where all holy days in Eastertide but that of Holyrood took the Easter colour, white. St. John at Christmastide was always white. The days of the Conversion of St. Paul and the Chair of St. Peter were azure at Exeter: at Wells the former was red, and the latter green and saffron.

As for Holy Women neither Virgins nor Martyrs, we have white for St. Mary Magdalen in the C.C.C.O. MS. But Grandisson suggested azure for that day, "though some use white, and some saffron." At Wells they used green and saffron, as on St. Anne's Day. But Grandisson in 1339 ordered St. Anne to be kept in white at St. Mary Ottery.[1]

They had a pair of tunicles at Canterbury in 1321 for Michaelmas[2] of diverse colour (*diversi coloris*), which seems akin to the Lichfield *varius color*.

On All Saints' day we have the rule for the best vestments in the C.C.C.O. MS., the noteworthy use at Exeter of *all colours* together, nevertheless with white and red predominating; that is, with the celebrant in a chasuble of one colour, the tunicles of other colours, and the copes of the rulers and chanters all of different colours. At Wells they used red and white in the same way.

For All Souls' day, and masses of *Requiem eternam* the rules give black, and the same is found at Canterbury in 1315, and elsewhere: purple at Exeter in 1327, Lincoln in 1346, violet for Grandisson's funeral in 1368. Roger de Waltham, canon of St. Paul's, left a vestment in 1328 to the cathedral church which contained a cope and chasuble, with images of gold and silk embroidered

[1] G. Oliver, *Monasticon Dioecesis Exoniensis*, Exeter and London, 1846 p. 269 (cap. xvij.).

[2] Legg and Hope, *Canterbury Inventories*, 58.

upon red samite, the tunicle and dalmatic being of ray silk, to be used for his obit, and on the feasts of Holy Cross, St. John Baptist and St. Laurence.[1] And at Meaux we even find a green chasuble for requiems on ferial days. A 14th century MS. of the Sarum Consuetudinary, which was once in use at Risby, Suffolk (Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. 1001),[2] seems to prescribe white for trentals or anniversaries of a Canon of Sarum, or when the corpse is present: the priest, deacon, and subdeacon, "are to be vested as on a double feast, viz. in chasuble and tunicle and dalmatic of white silk." The Wells rule protests against the use of any other colour than black, and against the use of rich vestments on such occasions. But the custom continued notwithstanding, and increased.

For a hersecloth some folk took to using a cloth with their coat-armour depicted upon it. For instance, Sir Bartholomew de Burghersh, knt., in 1369 desired that on the day of his funeral[3] no other cover should be on his body than that of red sendal, with the lion of his arms; and his helmet; as also a taper at the head, and another at the feet, and on each side a torch. His arms were *gules*, a lion rampant double quevée, *or*.

Others avoided the black cloth in a different way. Dame Maude de Saye,[4] about 1370, appointed that "her corpse should be carried to burial covered only with a linen cloth having a red cross thereon."

At mattins of Christmas and the Epiphany the gospel-lesson was read with the same pomp as the gospel at mass. These mattins' gospels are the two genealogies of our Lord, as recorded by St. Matthew and St. Luke respectively. The C.C.C.O. MS. orders a transversely striped dalmatic and tunicle for this function;

[1] Hist. MSS. Comm., *9th Rep. Appx.*, pt. j, p. 40 (1,341). Presumably the mass at this obit was of *Requiem*.

[2] Frere, *Use of Sarum*, j, 212.

[3] W. Dugdale, *Baronage*, London, 1675; ij, 36. N. H. Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, London, 1826; p. 77.

[4] Dugdale's *Baronage*, j, 512.

which seems to have lasted at the Inner Temple right on into Elizabeth's reign,[1] for we read that at service time on Christmas evening, "the two youngest Butlers are to bear two torches in the *Genealogia*." In most cases they probably took the Christmas and Epiphany colours respectively.

The new Sarum Ordinal prescribes that for the blessing of holy water the hebdomadary priest should wear a red silk cope,[2] and the rubric appears still in the 16th century books.[3] It is noticeable that they did not adopt the Roman violet for this rite, any more than they did for the hallowing of candles, ashes, or palms. Possibly red may have been chosen for the blessing of holy water because it was the usual dominical colour: but in that case one would expect that white would have been used at Sarum during Eastertide ; whereas so far as we can tell red was used all the year round. It is hardly justifiable to argue that Sarum always uses red where Rome orders violet, and that therefore one may conclude that the Advent and Septuagesima colour was red at Sarum. Perhaps the real explanation may be that red was the colour for hallowing the font at Sarum. The use of holy water grew up partly out of a use, or abuse, of the baptismal water for sprinkling the church, houses, vines, fields and crops.[4]

15th Century.

The evidence for the fifteenth century comprises casual references in the rubrics of the MS. and printed mass-books, items from wills and inventories, as well as the persistence of some colour memoranda of the previous century. There are no fresh colour-sequences of English origin to help us, but in several Pontificals there appears a colour rubric which is professedly and admittedly

[1] W. Dugdale, *Origines Juridiciales*, London, 1666 ; p. 155.
[2] Frere, *Use of Sarum*, ij, 229.
[3] In the Grail (*Missale Sarum*, 29**).
[4] J. Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, Luteciae Parisiorum, 1689 ; t. ij, p. 26.

secundum Romanam Curiam, according to the use of the Roman Court. It owes its immediate origin to the rule that Grandisson set out for Exeter, for at the end we have the clause :

> Nevertheless, in the Church of Exeter, on three feasts they use indifferently all colours at once : on the feasts of All Saints, of Relics, and of the Dedication of the Church.

Still, it has been urged that although these colours are according to the use of the Court of Rome, yet their appearance in these Pontificals proves that they represent the diocesan use of colours in London and Canterbury, to the bishops of which sees these Pontificals belong.

Against this view it has been rightly argued that Pontificals were not public property, but the private book of the bishop himself : that they were never printed before King Edward VI's days : and most important of all, that the rule itself declares that it is—not the diocesan use—but that of the Roman Curia. But besides all this, no evidence has yet been offered to shew that such things as diocesan sequences ever obtained in this country, as they did on the Continent in the 17th and 18th centuries.

It may shew that the bishop who inserted the sequence in his Pontifical was desirous of following it in his Chapel, but more than this it can hardly be strained to mean.

But though the Pontifical sequences were not those followed in England, yet they incidentally bear witness to the English use when it differs from that of the Court of Rome, either by the iteration of their Roman origin, or direct statement that the Roman Church uses some other colour. Thus, in the paragraph on the use of White we have :

> And, according to the Court of Rome, *white* must be used on the feast of All Saints :

bearing witness to the use of another colour in the local English rite. Further on, in discussing the use of Red, its employment is ordered on the feasts of all Martyrs throughout the year :

> Except the Beheading of St. John the Baptist and the feast of the Holy Innocents, when, according to the Roman custom *violet* must be used, because they descended to hell.

Under Yellow we have evidence that there was a divergency of opinion in England as to the colour for St. Mary Magdalen, some using yellow, some not ; and again a proof that the English colour for Confessors was not the same as at Rome.

> On all feasts of Confessors, and, according to some, on the feast of the Magdalen, *yellow* vestments must be used. Nevertheless, the Roman Church uses *white* on feasts of Confessors.

So also the Pontificals give definite testimony to the English custom of using red during the whole of Passiontide.

> *Violet* or *purple* vestments must be used . . . from evensong of the Saturday of Septuagesima, when *Alleluia* ceases, until Maundy Thursday ; or, according to some churches, until Passion Sunday.
>
> On Good Friday *black* vestments must be used. Nevertheless, it seems more suitable on Good Friday to use *red* so far as the solemn orisons, and afterwards *black*.

For Advent we have the use of red on all Sundays out of Eastertide, in the 15th century Sarum books, both MS. and printed ; and similarly red for Ember Saturday in the York books of the same period. The inventories of this century are silent. Nor is there anything fresh about the Christmas colour, nor that for the Epiphany.

The inventories still give us a variety of colours for the Sundays and weekdays after Epiphanytide or Trinity. Mr. Hope gives sixteen items for Sundays: to which we can add a vestment of blue and white with a gold orfray[1] belonging to the Duke of Lancaster's "Chapel" in 1426. Of them, six are red, three green, and one each of black, blue, green, yellow, white, checky (with a red cross), and red and white. We must notice that three of these are old vestments: that at St. Peter Cheap in 1413 the Sunday suit was of blue bawdkin (chasuble, two tunicles, and a cope), but there was also a cope of red cloth of gold for Sundays. This may have been intended for the blessing of water and salt, for which the rubric of the Sarum books orders a red silk cope. But at St. Nicholas, Bristol[2]; St. Mary, Scarborough; St. Andrew, Canterbury; and Bassingbourne, Cambridgeshire, it was the whole suit that was red. At the last-named they had three suits "for Sundays and other double feasts," one white, one red, one checky: obviously, the item means that they were sufficient for those days that were kept in those colours.

For ferial days there is a marked preponderance of white and green; but red, gold, glaucous, yellow, blue, and purple occur as well.

For Septuagesima we have no fresh information: but at St. Peter Cheap[3] they had in 1431 "3 chasubles of borde Alexander, for ferial days, of one suit, with 3 stoles, 2 fanons of the same." Perhaps the last numbers should be interchanged, and run "2 stoles, 3 fanons." The fact of the three chasubles being of one suit shews that they must have been worn either in Advent, or Septuagesima and Lent.

On Ash Wednesday the official is directed by the 15th century Sarum books[4] to wear a red silk cope,

[1] Hist. MSS. Comm., *IXth Rep., Appx.*, j, 54.
[2] Vellum-leaved Vestry-book, fol. 12. In the custody of the Vicar.
[3] *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 1868; xxiv, 156.
[4] *E.g.* a MS. Sarum Massbook c. 1450 in Bristol Public Library, fol. 26.

his deacon and subdeacon being in albs and amices. For the mass, of course, all three wore chasubles, which according to the Custumary[1] were red. The inventories shew that beyond all dispute white was the chief colour used in Lent, both for the vestments, the frontals, riddels, and veils, in regular and secular churches alike. Moreover, a large number mention that these suits had red crosses on them, or were stained with the Five Wounds, "images of the Passion of Christ," a crucifix, or red drops of blood. Occasionally we meet with blue veils.

The question that at once suggests itself, is, When were these white vestments and frontals used? The veils of the images &c. naturally were not changed: but what of the vestments?

In medieval England the Sunday services were clearly differentiated during Lent from those of the weekday. First of all, the Lenten veil was drawn away from before the first evensong of a Sunday or Saint's-day until the next ferial mattins, except that at the mass of the fast on a Saint's-day it was let down from the beginning of the service until the commencement of the Gospel. The memorial for penitents[2] and the special Lenten preface[3] were not said on Sundays, nor were the prayers *super populum* after the Post-communion Collect.[4]

But it is an error to suppose that the deacon and subdeacon only wore alb and amice on ferias, at the mass *de die*. In Advent and from Septuagesima till Maundy Thursday the rubric distinctly orders chasubles for them. In practice, the use of chasubles was supplanted by that of tunicles. The evidence of the inventories not only shews that sets of three chasubles were very uncommon, but gives proof that *tunicles* were used instead.

[1] Frere, *Use of Sarum*, j, 63.
[2] *Missale Sarum*, 135.
[3] *Ibid.*, 138, 149, 152, &c.
[4] *Ibid.*, 138, 142. Compare 170.

The difference between the Sundays and weekdays of Lent may be further seen in the manner of singing the Tract at Mass. This was sung on Sundays, Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and on Saints'-days. On Sundays and feasts of nine lessons between Septuagesima and Maundy Thursday it was sung by four clerks of the highest grade at the quire-step, vested in silk copes, which were red according to the Sarum books. On the weekdays the singers wore their ordinary quire-dress. Hence it would seem probable that in general the Lenten white was reserved for the weekdays and the masses *de ieiunio* on Saints'-days. The only evidence to the contrary is at St. Stephan's, Coleman Street. Besides two white vestments for Lent, they had in 1466 "a whole suit of vestments of white bustian *for Sundays in time of Lent*, with red roses embroidered." But at King's College, Cambridge, in 1453, beside their suit of three chasubles of bustian, they had three red dalmatics for Lent. At Magdalen College, Oxford, they had a red suit for Sundays in Lent, and an upper and nether front to the high altar of sanguine tuke for the same days. There were also eight gray chasubles, which one may well suppose were used on Lenten ferials. At St. Mary-at-Hill in 1485 they had "a suit of red satin fringed with gold, . . . containing 3 copes, 2 chasubles, 2 albs, 2 amices, 2 stoles, 3 fanons, and 2 girdles,"[1] which seems evidently intended for either Advent or Lent. There appear to have been but two chasubles: but it must be remembered that the deacon did not wear his from after the Epistle until the completion of the ablutions, but, according to the rubric, put it on folded in its breadth over his stole; perhaps it was found more convenient to dispense with such a proceeding altogether, as the object of folding it was only to free the arms, so as to enable him to wait on the priest in various ways.

It may further be noticed that the majority of white

[1] J. Nichols, *Illustrations &c. of Ancient Times*, London, 1797; p. 112.

Lenten vestments were only sufficient for low mass. At the altar of St. Thomas at Sarum Cathedral Church in 1389 they had a large number of vestments, but the only Lenten one was for ferias.

All things considered then, it seems most probable that in most churches the white vestments were kept for the mass and divine services of the *fast*, and that red or blue vestments were worn on the *Sundays*.

We have seen how in the 13th and 14th centuries the images, crosses, and hanging pyx were veiled from Monday after the first Sunday in Lent (which at one time was held to be the beginning of the season of Lent) until Mattins of Easterday. But in the second half of the 15th century Ash Wednesday had practically become the beginning of Lent, and apparently the veiling of images began on that day. A contemporary account of the arrival of Edward IV in England in 1471 tells us how Edward came to Daventry [1] and heard all divine service in the parish church there on Palm Sunday. When he had been out of his realm and in adversity, he had promised St. Anne to make his prayers and offer to the next image of her that he should happen to see.

> So it fell, that the same Palm Sunday, the King went in procession, and all the people after, in good devotion, as the service of that day asketh, and, when the procession was come into the church, and, by order of the service, were come to that place where the veil should be drawn up afore the Rood, that all the people shall honour the Rood with the anthem *Ave*, three times begun, in a pillar of the church, directly afore the place where the King kneeled and devoutly honoured the Rood, was a little image of St. Anne made of alabaster, standing fixed to the pillar, closed and clasped together with four small boards, painted and going round about the image in manner of a compass, like as it is to see commonly, and all about, where as such images be wont

[1] *Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV in England*, Camden Society, 1838; pp. 13, 14.

> to be made for to be sold and set up in churches, chapels, crosses, and oratories in many places. And this image was then shut, closed, and clasped, according to the rules that, in all the churches of England, be observed, all images to be hid from Ash Wednesday to Easterday in the morning. And so the said image had been from Ash Wednesday to that time.

The historian goes on to relate how the shutters suddenly burst open at this juncture, without any one touching them: and disclosed the image of St. Anne, which sign the king took for a good omen.

This is the only evidence of the practice of veiling from Ash Wednesday that I have found: but it is probably trustworthy, from its incidental character, and the fact that it relates an actual occurrence. How widely the practice was spread one cannot tell.

The Passiontide colour, according to the books, was red in England: and the Pontifical sequences, as we have already seen, bear witness to the same fact. The inventories of the 15th century give us no information, except for Good Friday.

The Palm Sunday procession is noteworthy because the Eucharist was carried in it. This practice was introduced by Lanfranc, and spread over Normandy:[1] he brought it over to England on his accession to the throne of Canterbury, and we first hear of it in this country in his Decrees for the Order of St. Bennet, where the shrine containing the Eucharist is carried by two priests in albs.[2] At Sarum[3] in the 15th century the palms were blessed by a priest in a red cope, which he also wore in the procession. The shrine was carried by two clerks of the second grade, in their ordinary quire

[1] Edm. Martène, *De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*, Lib. IV: cap. xx: n. xj: Antuerpiae, 1737; t. iij, 201. It was kept up at Rouen in Martène's days (Id., *De ant. Mon. Rit.*, Lib. III: cap. xij: n. xiij; t. iv, col. 341, *et seq.*).

[2] Cl. Reyner, *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia*, Dvaci, 1626; Appx. 217.

[3] *E.g.* Bristol MS. Sarum Massbook, fol. 81 *verso*.

habit of surplice and black cloak: so the rules of the 13th and 16th century state. But Dr. Wickham Legg points out that in two Sarum MSS. the shrine is depicted as borne by a priest in a red cope. At York in the 14th century he wore a white, or rather, silvern one, as at St. Albans in the 12th.

Thence it has been concluded that the colour for the Eucharist was red at Sarum (and Wells), and white at York. But we do not know that these colours were not used in those churches before they adopted the custom of carrying the Eucharist in that procession. So much of the *ritual* existed before, directed to the crucifix, which was afterwards referred to the Eucharist, that it is quite probable that the *colour* also was in use before.[1] Reginald Pecock, writing about the middle of the 15th century, seems to imply that even so late as 1449 it had not become quite general to carry the Eucharist in the Palm Sunday procession. This is what he says about it:

> In elder days, when procession was made in the Palm Sunday before mass, the Eucharist was not brought forth that the procession of the clerks and of the lay people should meet with him; but a bare uncovered cross was brought forth against the procession, that the procession should meet against it, as I have read in divers old ordinals of cathedral churches and of monasteries in England: though in later days, and namely [*i.e.* specially] in some churches the Eucharist is borne forth, and the procession meeteth with the Eucharist borne in a chest among relicks, and in many places he is borne in a cup ordeyned thereto. Then thus: In those days and in those places when and where the procession met in Palm Sunday with the naked cross, or with the chest of relics without the Eucharist, some of the clerks were ordained for to stand before the said cross, and for to turn them toward the procession and say

[1] Dr. Legg points out that white was used for the Palm Sunday Procession at Monte Cassino, and Palencia, by the Black and the White Friars, and is also mentioned by Durandus. But in none of these cases has it anything to do with the Eucharist. Red was also used in some places without the Eucharist.

in singing to all the clergy and people thus : *O Sion, misty daughter to the King, mild and meek . . . This is He which cometh from Edom in clothes died with blood* . . . And then thus said and sung from the clerks, in the cross's behalf, to the priests and lay people in the procession, the priests and people fall down, kneeling with all their knees to the ground, saying or singing or in both manners toward the said discovered cross, thus : *Hail! thou, whom the people of the Hebrews meeting, witnesseth to be Jesus*, &c., &c.[1]

On Maundy Thursday the Sarum rubric[2] directs the officiant to wear a red silk cope, and the 15th century Custumary orders red vestments for the ministers of the altar, apparently whether the oils were blessed by the bishop or not.

Good Friday was undoubtedly red all over England. The Sarum rubric[3] directs the priest to wear a red chasuble, the deacon and subdeacon being in albs without apparels. At Hereford[4] the bishop and his ministers wore Lenten vestments for the lessons, &c. After the solemn orisons two priests, vested in albs and red chasubles, held the veiled cross. Two others in black silk copes sang the responses, *Agios*, &c. (Holy God, Holy and Strong, &c.), in the Reproaches.[5] At St. Mary-at-Hill[6] in 1432 they had "an old vestment of red silk lined with yellow, for Good Friday." At St. Nicholas, Bristol, in the same year they had "a red

[1] Reginald Pecock, *The Repression of over much blaming of the Clergy*, Rolls Series, 1860 ; vol. j, pp. 202 *seq.*

[2] *e.g.*, Bristol MS. Sarum Massbook, fol. 97.

[3] *Ibid.*, fol. 101 *verso*.

[4] W. G. Henderson, *Missale ad usum percelebris ecclesiae Herfordensis*, Leeds, 1874 ; p. 90. The phrase *vestibus quadragesimalibus* seems to have been derived from some Roman Ordo. Compare *Leofric Missal*, Oxford, 1883 ; p. 261, where they are explained as *planetis fuscis* ; and Martène *De Ant. Eccl. Rit.*, Lib. IV : cap. xxiij : MS. Monast. St. Germain à Pratis : Antuerpiæ, 1737 ; t. iii, 381, has the same direction.

[5] *Miss. Herford.* 93, 94.

[6] J. Brand, *Observations on Popular Antiquities*, London, 1813 ; vol. j, p. 130.

chasuble for Good Friday," and similarly at St. Margaret, Southwark, in 1485. At St. Stephen, Coleman Street, they had in 1466 a purple chasuble for the same day. At Wells, in the previous century, it will be remembered that purple was given as an alternative to red on Good Friday. Even the Pontificals regard red as more suitable so far as the solemn orisons.

At Sarum on Easter Even the officiant wore a red silk cope, and the deacon and subdeacon wore dalmatic and tunicle of which the colour is unnamed.[1] The priest is directed to wear a red silk cope for the blessing of the Font[2]: after which three clerks of the upper grade sang the litany *Rex sanctorum angelorum* in the midst of the procession back to the altar, two of whom wore red copes and the middle one a white.[3] For the mass the solemn festival vestments are to be worn.[4] It was, in fact, the first mass of Easterday.

At York white seems to have been worn throughout the Easter Even functions. For the rest of the seasons we have no fresh information. But at Thame, Oxfordshire, we have some curious eccentricities that may just be mentioned. The parishioners allotted the vestments as seemed best to them, with the result that they had a suit of green and black for Ascension Day and Trinity Sunday, and a blue suit for Whitsunday. Obviously, from the descriptions, they thought more of the splendour than of the colour of these vestments.

White, according to the inventories, was the chief colour for our Lady. At Magdalen College, Oxford, they had one white, and one black vestment for the daily Lady mass; recalling the use of black in the Jerusalem sequence, and the verse in the Canticles, "I am black but comely." And at Lincoln complaint was made n 1437 that the ministers of the altar used to wear red

[1] *E.g.* Bristol MS. Sarum Massbook, fol. 108 *verso*.
[2] *E.g. Ibid.*, fol. 117 *verso*.
[3] *E.g. Ibid.*, fol. 122.
[4] *Ibid.*, fol. 164.

vestments at the Lady mass, whereas they ought to wear white.[1]

We have red for Martyrs at Somerby in 1440, and for "Midsummer day and other days of Apostles," at Thame in 1448. At York there was a green chasuble for the Feast of Relics in 1500; probably because the principal relics at York were those of a Confessor, St. William.

For Confessors the inventories give black at Somerby in 1440; and blue for St. Nicholas at St. Margaret, Southwark, in 1485. They kept the commemoration of St. Mary Magdalen in white at Cobham College in 1479. The rules give yellow at Sarum, and for the English use contrasted in the Pontificals with the Roman.

For funerals, requiems, &c., the colour is usually black: but the tendency to use other colours is increasing. Sometimes the church has a black suit and another as well; as at St. Mary, Scarborough, where they had one of blue, and another of black. The strangest colour for this purpose is green. William Wells, bishop of Rochester, left a green velvet suit for his exequies. He does not say whether it was to be used at the mass of *Requiem eternam*. A few years later, 1458, we find a green bawdkin vestment *pro defunctis* at Cadington,[2] one of the prebendal churches belonging to St. Paul's: and about 1472 they had "a coverlet of green with flowers, for minds," at St. Ewen's, Bristol. Sir Walter Hungerford, knt., bequeathed to the Prior and convent of Bath a suit of "black and red velvet embroidered like waves," to be made use of every year upon the day of his obit.[3] One gets a glimpse of a custom which became more common in the next century, that of using rich

[1] Chr. Wordsworth, and H. Bradshaw, *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, Cambridge, 1892–97; pt. ij, p. 402. Judging by p. 394, this proceeding was hardly from devout motives.

[2] *Visitations of Churches belonging to St. Paul's Cathedral*, Camden Society, 1895; p. 98.

[3] W. Dugdale, *Baronage*, London, 1675; ij, 206.

herse cloths. They had a cloth of red bawdkin, fringed, to lay upon herses, besides one of black, at St. Margaret, Southwark, in 1485. William Norreys directed that his red cloth of bawdkin be laid upon his body in the church of Asshe, and a herse and a black cloth with tapers thereon set.[1]

By the end of this century the custom had become almost a rule that in "Enterments of Noblemen" there were to be three masses, the first of our Lady, the second of the Trinity, and the third of *Requiem eternam*.[2] We find it on the Continent too; and it lasted on till the 19th century in the massbooks of Sens, Rouen, and Beauvais.[3]

Two new feasts came into general use towards the end of the century, that of the Holy Name, and of the Transfiguration. During the 15th century a great devotion to the holy name Jesus sprang up in England. All over the country gilds of the Holy Name, or Jesus Gilds were formed, and a Jesus mass, or mass of the Holy Name, became general throughout England on Fridays. In the evening they used to sing an imitation of the *Salve Regina*, called Jesus *Salve* or anthem, after complin. There are two examples, which shew that the colour for Jesus mass was red (or crimson). So that probably this was also the colour for the feast of the Holy Name. For the Transfiguration no information is available.

Another feast new to the 15th century was that of St. Raphael the Archangel. The chief promoter of this festival was Edmund Lacey, bishop of Exeter, who in 1443 instituted it as a feast of nine lessons according to the use of Sarum as customarily celebrated in the province of Canterbury.[4] In commemoration of its

[1] N. H. Nicholas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, London, 1826; p. 385.

[2] Brit. Mus. MS. *Tib. E. viij.* in Strutt's *Manners and Customs of the English*, London, 1774–76; vol. ij, pp. 162 *seq.*

[3] *Notice Historique sur les Rites de l'Église de Paris*, par un prêtre du diocèse, Paris, 1846; pp. 31, 66.

[4] D. Wilkins, *Concilia*, iij, 537 *seq.*

institution, and lest it should fall into disuse from any cause, he gave two presbyteral chasubles, four tunicles, and four copes of red, and another suit of blue to his cathedral church. W. Booth, archbishop of York, adopted Lacey's office of St. Raphael for his cathedral church in 1454, and was followed by Sarum in 1456. They had been preceded by Hereford in 1445. To both York and Hereford Lacey had sent presents of red vestments and other ornaments,[1] from which one would gather that he desired that the new feast should be kept in red, and either red or blue at his own church. For the two other archangels, St. Michael and St. Gabriel, Grandisson prescribed white or candid vestments. If Lacey really meant to have red or blue for St. Raphael, it is additional evidence that Grandisson did not succeed in impressing his Roman predilections on his cathedral church.

16th Century.

The 16th century brings with it an abundance of inventories,[2] from which, however, we obtain little information, since it is rare for the day or season on which the various vestments were used to be mentioned. The Sarum colour memorandum is found in the printed books, and a few stray rubrics give certain occasions for the employment of red.

The York printed books give red for the fifth lesson at the mass of Ember Saturday in Advent, but a suit of blue bawdkin was in use at York Cathedral Church for Advent and Septuagesima at the very commencement of the century. At Exeter in 1506 they had three copes, of one suit, of purple silk for Advent; and a large purple chasuble for use on Sundays in Advent and

[1] R. Barnes, *Liber Pontificalis of Edmund Lacy*, Exeter, 1847; pp. vij, viij.

[2] The wealth of the English churches at the end of the 15th century called forth the admiration of a Venetian gentleman attached to an embassy from that State in 1496 (*A Relation . . . of the Island of England*, Camden Society, 1847; pp. 29, 30, 41).

Lent, adorned with great golden beasts in golden circles, and a narrow golden orfray on the breast. At St. Mary Winton College, by Winchester, in 1525 they used red in Advent and Septuagesima.[1] In 1527 among the chapel gear belonging to Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond,[2] were two suits containing three chasubles, which must therefore have been used in Advent or Lent, or both. These were "a vestment of purple velvet, with angels and flowers, with all things belonging to the same; and 2 chasubles for the deacon and subdeacon belonging to the same vestment. Also a vestment of cloth of gold of damask and crimson velvet purled, with all things thereunto appertaining; 2 chasubles for the deacon and subdeacon of the same stuff, with all things to them belonging."

Except for a white cope, and a white chasuble and front adorned with stars, at Westminster, for Epiphany, the inventories of the 16th century do not give us any information until Septuagesima, for which season they had at Exeter a blue chasuble of linen cloth stained with red roses, and two dalmatics, in 1506.

For Lent we have white everywhere.[3] But at Exeter they had a purple chasuble for Sundays, blue veils for images; fronts of blue, black, and blue and white paly, for Lent at low altars. At York, besides white vestments, we find a blue vestment with two dalmatics for Lent. At Lincoln, in 1556, they had a yellow suit for Lent, and the high altar front was a double cloth, white and red; apparently red one side, and white the other. The Gray-Friars of Sarum had a yellow single vestment for

[1] Kirby, *Annals of Winchester College*, 1892, quoted by Chr. Wordsworth in *Tracts of Clement Maydeston*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1894; p. 231.

[2] *Camden Miscellany*, 1855; vol. iij, pt. iv, p. 13.

[3] The clothes that are hanged up this time of Lent in the church have painted in them nothing else but the pains, torments, passion, bloodshedding, and death of Christ, that now we should only have our minds fixed on the passion of Christ, by whom only we were redeemed (Thomas Becon, *Early Works*, Parker Society, 1843; p. 111).

Lent, with three others whose colour is not given. There was a yellow altar cloth for Lent in 1540 at Westminster Abbey. At St. Paul's in 1552 they had a vestment and two tunicles of red silk for Lent, and we find red vestments for Lent at Wingham College, Kent, circa 1550, and Lewisham, Kent, in 1552. This last is important, as they also had a Lenten suit of white: most probably the red was for Sundays and the white for the masses of the fast. At Morebath, Devon,[1] they had Lenten vestments of blue in 1549, and at St. Bartholomew, Bread Street, one of black satin. Yet in the last-named they had an over and a nether front of white tuke for Lent. The evidence all tends to confirm the conclusion arrived at in reviewing the information available for the previous century; to wit, that the white vestments were chiefly, if not entirely, reserved for the weekdays and masses *de ieiunio*, and the coloured ones worn on the Sundays.

Passiontide was still kept in red. There was a chasuble with two tunicles of red satin at Exeter in 1506, serving from Passion Sunday till Easter, and at Peterborough Abbey, a Benedictine house, the albs for Passion week had red apparels. The Westminster inventory of 1540 mentions a cope, chasuble, &c., of crimson bawdkin for Palm Sunday and Maundy Thursday, and a cope and three chasubles of purple satin, serving for Palm Sunday and Good Friday.

Good Friday was red almost everywhere—the only exception being Exeter, where they had in 1506 a black silk chasuble given by Grandisson for Good Friday, which had a red orfray and a crucifix with a green cross. But this was not used, according to the Exeter sequence, until after the solemn orisons. They used a red chasuble at St. Laurence, Reading, at Bishop's Stortford, Essex; a red silk cope and chasuble at Long Melford, purple at St. Margaret, Westminster, and at the Abbey: in the latter case the purple copes were enumerated

[1] *Churchwardens' Accounts*, Somerset Record Society, 1890; iv, 224.

under *Red Copes*. At York, in king Edward VI's days, the Good Friday vestment was of changeable taffety. At Lincoln they had a chasuble and two tunicles of red for Good Friday.

At Durham in 1546 the Black Monks had a white tunicle for the deacon to sing *Exultet* in at the consecration of the Pascall.[1] Probably this was also the use throughout England in all secular churches.

The next day about which the inventories tell us anything is Corpus Christi. At Eastbridge Hospital, Canterbury, they had a vestment, apparently of green satin, in 1552, for this day. In the processions of the Host in London described by Wriothesley they used cloth-of-gold copes.

We have the same variety as before in the colours for the Sundays and weekdays after Epiphanytide and Trinity. Out of a dozen items we have red thrice, blue twice, green twice, and once each of cloth of gold, bawdkin, and motley: and in two instances the colour is not given. The use of cloth of gold for the summer Sundays at Exeter is of interest, as shewing that Grandisson's sequence was not held as absolutely binding. The "red velvet cope for Sundays," mended at St. Nicholas, Bristol,[2] in 1527, may possibly have been used at the blessing of holy water, which according to the Sarum rubric was performed by a priest in a red silk cope. The weekday colours are equally variable. Red is most predominant, and then blue; green and white equal; yellow and bawdkin least. The ferial front at Exeter was green: one given by Grandisson, or at least with his arms; but the chasubles, tunicles, and copes were red, in spite of the direction in their sequence to use green.

To the list in Mr. Hope's paper we can add an *old* vestment of green cloth of bawdkin at St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich, with a stole and maniple of other colours,

[1] *Inventories of Church Goods*, Surtees Society, 1897; p. 137.
[2] *MS. Churchwardens' Accounts*, in the Vicar's custody.

that served for every day[1]: an *old* cotidial cope of red bawdkin at St. Botolph, Aldgate,[2] about 1549; and a blue vestment for weekdays at Hornesay, Yorkshire.[3]

The weekdays in the 16th century were rarely entirely "of the feria." If there was no Saint's-day, commemorations and votive masses occupied at least a portion of the services. The votive mass for the benefactors and parishioners, known from its office as *Salus populi*, was sung on Tuesdays, and that of the Holy Cross on Fridays. Besides this, on Fridays, Jesus Mass or Mass of the Holy Name had become general. The commemoration of the saint to which the church was dedicated (unless it was in worship of Our Lady) was kept on Tuesdays, that of St. Thomas of Canterbury on Thursdays, and of our Lady on Saturdays. Other votive masses for the rest of the week are given in the various massbooks, so that one is left a little uncertain whether the vestments for weekdays were used at the ferial mass, or at one of these votive masses, or even for the commemorations.

For our Lady and her Virgins, white is still almost the only colour that the inventories of this century give: yet at St. Mary Winton, Winchester, they had a red velvet vestment for masses of St. Mary as well as one of white fustian.[4]

At Exeter we have red and green checky for their commemoration of SS. Peter and Paul: red cloth of gold for Martyrs, and a solitary purple chasuble for the vigil of Apostles. The Black-Friars of Worcester had a red cope for Martyrs, and they had a purple vestment for the Tuesday mass at the Altar of St. Thomas in Christchurch, Canterbury, for the secular priests celebrating there.[5] The Westminster inventory

[1] St. John Hope in *Norf. and Norw. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, xiv, 201.
[2] *English Historical Review*, July 1896; p. 524.
[3] *Inventories of Church Goods*, Surtees Society, 1897; p. 54.
[4] Quoted in *Tracts of Clement Maydeston*, 231.
[5] Legg and Hope, *Canterbury Inventories*, 130–1.

of 1540 gives crimson for St. Andrew, purple (with *blue* orfrays) for St. Laurence, red and blue for St. Alban, red for St. Peter, yellow for St. John before the Latin Gate. At Lincoln they used a cope paned with white, red and black silk on St. Mark's day, in 1557. Mr. Hope suggests that possibly the parti-coloured vestments met with in the inventories may often have been meant for feasts of Apostles. This is possible : but on the other hand they may have been used on the Sundays after Trinity and Epiphanytide, or like varius color of the Lichfield sequence.

For Confessors we have glaucous at Exeter, and four tunicles of green damask, with St. William's arms, for bearing the Shrine, at York, in king Edward's reign.[1] At Westminster they used blue, green, yellow and red, yellow and russet for different Confessors.

For funerals, requiems, &c., black is most general : but blue is not at all uncommon. At the funerals of Henry VIII we are told that on Sunday, 13 February $15\frac{46}{47}$, at the high altar of the chapel royal, three solemn masses were sung in sundry suits : the first of our Lady, in white ; the second of the Trinity, in blue ; and the third of *Requiem* in black.[2] At Windsor the corpse was covered with a great pall of black velvet, having a white cross of satin, and over that another pall of rich cloth of tissue.[3] At St. Mary Winton by Winchester they had a black and green satin vestment for requiems on double feasts, besides three black and two blue suits for such masses on other days.[4]

The hersecloth was even more variable in colour. Black is most common : but it was blue at Sawtre,[5] Welwyn, Herts. (like the Requiem vestment : they also

[1] W. Dugdale, *Historical Account o, the Cathedral Churches of York, &c.*, 28.
[2] J. Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, London, 1816 ; vol. vj, p. 276. Cnf. the account of Henry VII's funeral in J. Leland's *Collectanea*, Londini, 1770 ; iv, 305.
[3] *Ibid.*, 284.
[4] *Tracts of Clement Maydeston*, 231.
[5] *Archaeologia*, 1871 ; xliij, 240.

had a black cloth),[1] St. Stephen's, Coleman Street,[2] and St. Bennet Gracechurch (for children)[3] : red at St. Peter in Cornhill (for children),[4] Chiswick,[5] St. Olave's, Southwark,[6] and Eltham, Kent : green at Wing, Buckinghamshire,[7] tawny (for children) at St. Stephen's, Coleman Street[8] : and cloth of gold at St. Peter at Cornhill,[9] and St. Bennet Gracechurch.[10]

At Exeter in 1506 they used a glaucous-green suit for their chapter mass, given by Grandisson. The chapter mass was usually for the faithful departed. They sang the weekly mass of *Salus populi* at Exeter in blue.

There is no further information about the Jesus mass or mass of the Holy Name, except that the two vestments belonging to Jesus altar at Long Melford were both red.[11] The feast itself ranked as a greater double, and so probably was kept in the second best vestments, regardless of their colour.

For the feast of Relics they had a rich vestment of bawdkin at York in Edward VI's reign.[12]

So far as one can judge at this distance of time, it would appear that, at any rate in England, people in the middle ages did not look upon rubrics or any other ceremonial directions as requiring such exact and detailed obedience as is considered necessary at the present day, and in some quarters. And we hear nothing of any episcopal interference with the colours used in parish churches : such matters being rather left to the deter-

[1] Chauncy's *Hertfordshire*, ij, 32.
[2] *Archaeologia*, 1887 ; l, 48.
[3] J. P. Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivum*, London, 1802 ; ij, 315.
[4] *Antiquary*, 1897 ; xxxiij, 278.
[5] *Visitations of Churches belonging to St. Paul's*, 117.
[6] *Gent. Mag.* 1837 ; j, 492.
[7] *Archaeologia*, 1855 ; xxxvj, 219.
[8] *Archaeologia*, l, 48.
[9] *Antiquary*, xxviij, 279.
[10] Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivum*, j. 315.
[11] J. P. Neale, *Views of . . . Churches*, London, 1825 ; ij, 17.
[12] W. Dugdale, *Historical Account of . . . York*, London, 1715 ; p. 27.

mination of the vestry, or its predecessor, the gathering of the "worshipful" of the parish, presided over by the rector or vicar.

And in spite of the weight due to the opinion of Dr. Legg, Mr. Hope and others, I cannot see that Clement Maydeston's much debated dictum *concerning the diversity of vestments*[1] can legitimately be brought forward as evidence that the Sarum colour memorandum was not observed out of Sarum diocese, in places were they adopted the Sarum books. The phrase refers primarily to the use or non-use of silk copes or quire-cloaks, albs or surplices, tunicles, &c. Of course it would be rashness itself to deny that it *could* not include the use of different colours: but that is not its chief and primary meaning.

On the other hand, it has been shown that throughout the past centuries a type of sequence prevailed all over England essentially the same, but with a few local variations, mostly of no importance: and this sequence was not of a Roman but a Gallican type.

The evidence for the colours appropriate to the administration of Baptism and Confirmation, and for weddings is small.

In the 16th century it is quite certain, however,—whatever may have been the previous practice, though it probably was the same—that for Solemn Baptisms on Easter Even and on Whitsun Eve, the officiant wore a red silk cope. And when Confirmation was given immediately afterwards the same colour was no doubt used. But in practice the bishop rode round once every three years, confirming children; he put on a stole, but we hear nothing of its colour, nor was that probably taken into consideration. For royal Baptisms and Confirmations the officiating bishop and his attendants[2] seem generally to have worn "rich copes": the splendour being more

[1] Chr. Wordsworth, *Tracts of Clement Maydeston*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1894; p. 15.

[2] J. Leland, *Collectanea*, London, 1770; iv, 254. J. Nichols, *Collection of Ordinances, etc.*, London, 1790; p. 126.

thought of than the colour. At Great Witchingham, Norfolkshire, there are representations of the Seven Sacraments around the font; and the priest who is baptizing is represented in a red stole.[1]

At York Baptisms on Easter Even and Whitsun Eve seem to have been in white. At the Benedictine abbey of Evesham they were in red.

For Matrimony we know next to nothing: but the votive mass of the Holy Trinity which always followed the spousals and wedding may give a clue to the colour. At Wycombe[2] in 1518 there was "a cope with white roses, called the wedding cope, with [tunicles for] deacon and subdeacon." This was evidently *not* white, as the roses must have been of a different colour from the ground of the cope. They also[3] had "a vestment for a wedding, the cross of red velvet purled with gold." This was, on similar grounds, *not* red: and if we could presume that cope chasuble and tunicles were all of the same colour, it would follow that the suit was neither red nor white. But such an assumption is hardly safe, judging by all that we know of medieval customs. It is interesting to notice that the priest in the representation of Matrimony on the font at Great Witchingham is wearing a green stole.[4] As green has generally been held to symbolise fruitfulness, it is not inappropriate to a wedding. They had a carecloth of green silk at St. Margaret, Southwark, in 1485, with divers beasts of white.[5]

It now remains to summarise in tabular form for present-day use the results of our survey of the liturgical use of colours in England up to the middle of the

[1] *Archaeological Journal*, 1902; lix, 23.
[2] St. John Hope in *Proc. Archit. and Arch. Soc. for Bucks*, 1899; p. 20.
[3] *Ibid.* 22.
[4] *Archaeological Journal*, 1902; lix, 32.
[5] *British Magazine*, 1848; xxxiij, 16.

16th century. As we have seen, for many days there was not an absolute uniformity: and so, when there were important variations, such are recorded in the table below. Small variations, such as the use of green on Whitsunday at Gloucester, and the like, are not noticed; the more so as very often they come under the rule of using the most precious vestments on the principal feast-days. The colour most general is set first in Roman type, and the variations, if any, in order of importance, in Italic type. If more than one colour is given in Roman type, it shows that the prevalence of one seems to have been as great as the other.

Occasion.	Colours.
Advent	Red, blue.
(Third Sunday in Advent)	Red, blue. But it would be in accordance with medieval precedent to alter the colour at the mass of this day in the Book of Common Prayer to the colour for St. John Baptist, on account of his prominence in the Collect and Gospel; just as the mass of Ember Wednesday in Advent was often sung in our Lady's colour.
Christmas	The best vestments and hangings: otherwise *white*.
St. Stephan	Red. Second best copes.
St. John, Ev.	White. Second best copes.
Childermas	Red. Second best copes.
Circumcision	White. *White and Red.*
Epiphany (the day)	The best vestments, &c., especially those adorned with stars. Otherwise Red. *White.*
(During the octaves)	Red. *White.*
Between Epiphanytide and LXX	Red, *old or shabby vestments*, &c.
Septuagesima	Red, blue.
Ash Wednesday	Red: *ash colour.*
Lenten Sundays	Red, blue; *white.* Red copes for the tract singers.

Occasion.	Colours.
Lenten Ferias	White, adorned with crosses and other symbols of the Passion. Probably also *dun, grey*.
Passiontide	Red.
Palm Sunday procession . .	Red ; *white*.
Maundy Thursday	Red.
Good Friday	Red.
Easter Even	Red. But the mass, which took place at night, was sung in the Eastertide colour.
Easter Day	Best Vestments, &c. Otherwise White. *Red*.
Easter Monday and Tuesday .	White. *Red*. Second best copes.
The rest of Eastertide . . .	White. *Red*.
Low Sunday	White.
Rogations	White.
Ascension Day	Best Vestments, &c. Otherwise White.
During the octaves and on the octave	White.
Whitsunday	Best Vestments, &c. Otherwise White. *Red*.
Monday and Tuesday in Whitsun week	White. *Red*. Second best copes.
The rest of the week . . .	White. *Red*.
Trinity Sunday	Best Vestments, &c. Otherwise White. *Red*.
During the week, or till Corpus Christi	White, as Trinity Sunday has a quasi-octave in the Book of Common Prayer.
Corpus Christi	Best Vestments, &c. Otherwise Red, or red and white.
Sundays after Trinity . . .	Red, *old or shabby vestments*.
Weekdays after Trinity . .	Old or shabby vestments.
Dedication of the Church . .	Best Vestments, &c. Otherwise White, *all colours together*.
Feasts of our Lady	White. *Red*.
Saints'-days in Advent, LXX and Lent (not Martyrs). .	Their proper colours. *Blue*. *Red* copes for the tract singers in Lent.
Saints'-days in Eastertide . .	White (except Holy Cross). Their proper colours.
Apostles, Evangelists, Martyrs	Red.
Virgin Martyrs	Red ; red and white.

Occasion.	Colours.
Virgins not Martyrs . . .	White.
Confessors	Yellow, green, blue : *and together.*
Holy Women not Virgins. .	Yellow, green : *and together.*
Angels	White, blue, *red.*
Nativity of St. John Baptist .	White. Blue.
St. Mary Magdalen . . .	White, green and yellow, yellow, blue.
Transfiguration	(? White).
Holy Name	Best Vestments, or Red.
Michaelmas	White ; *blue and white, blue.*
All Saints.	Best Vestments, &c. Otherwise Red and White ; all colours together.
All Souls' day, Requiem services, Funerals	Black, blue, *violet.*
Baptism	Red.
Confirmation.	Red.
Marriage	(? White, green : *blue*).

APPENDIX I.

The Saints'-days in the Wells Kalendar of the 14th century not marked *rubea* are as follows. The months are denoted by capital roman numerals :—

Alba. XII. Conception B.M. I. St. Batilda. II. St. Bride, Candlemas, St. Scholastica. III. Annunciation. V. St. John ante P.L., St. Petronilla. VI. St. Awdry. VII. St. Praxedes. VIII. Assumption B.M., during octaves and on octave, St. Cuthberga. IX. Nativity B.M., during octaves and on octave, St. Tecla.

India. III. St. Bennet. VI. St. Petrock, Nativity St. John Baptist. VII. Octave of St. John Baptist, Translation of St. Bennet. X. St. Wolfran. XI. St. Leonard, St. Machutus, Octave of St. Martin.

Crocea. I. St. Sulpice, St. Wolstan, St. Julian. IV. St. Richard, St. Leo. V. St. Aldhelm. VI. Translation of St. Edward, Translation of St. Richard, St. Leo. VII. Translation of St. Martin, Translation of St. Swithun, St. Sampson, St. German. VIII. St. Eusebius. X. Translation of St. Edward.

Viridea et Crocea. XII. St. Nicholas. II. Cathedra of St. Peter. III. St. Gregory, St. Cuthbert. IV. St. Ambrose. V. St. Dunstan, St. Austin. VII. St. Mary Magdalen, St. Anne. VIII. Lammas Day, St. Austin. IX. St. Jerome. XI. St. Martin, St. Edmund, St. Hugh.

Rubea et Alba. I. St. Prisca, St. Agnes, St. Agnes *secundo*. II. St. Juliana. III. SS. Perpetua, &c. VII. St. Margaret, St. Christina. IX. St. Eufemia, St. Edith. X. St. Faith, Feast of Relics, SS. Ursula, &c. XI. All Saints, St. Cecilia, St. Katharin.

India et Alba. IX. St. Michael. X. St. Michael *in monte tumba*.

Nigra. XI. All Souls.

APPENDIX II.

On the Symbolism of Colours.

Probably to everyone who has read the marvellous rationale in which Durandus explains how "each hue mysteriously is meant," it has occurred that it would not be very difficult to put together as plausible a collection of "reasons" for precisely the opposite or any other interpretation. At the same time there are some quasi-natural symbolical meanings, such as black for sadness, white for purity, and those connoted by the phrases, "in the blues," "true blue," &c.

In medieval writers we come across indications that there was a more or less constant symbolism attributed to certain colours. The few stray notices which are brought together below seem to be of sufficient interest to add to the foregoing essay, if only to shew that even in this matter authorities differ. Probably a wider acquaintance with medieval writers would bring many more instances to light, accentuating perhaps the points of agreement, but not unlikely those of difference.

In the 11th century, Marbodus, bishop of Rennes, wrote a poem on the Twelve Stones in the Vision of the New Jerusalem. The following verses bear on the symbolism of colours.

Sapphirus habet speciem caelesti throno similem,
Designat cor simplicium spe certa praestolantium,
Quorum vita et moribus refulget et virtutibus.

Iaspis colore viridi praefert virorem fidei,
Quae in perfectis omnibus numquam marcescit penitus,
Cuius forti praesidio resistitur diabolo.

Smaragdus virens nimium dat lumen oleaginum:
Est fides integerrima ad omne bonum patula
Quae numquam scit deficere a pietatis opere.

Sardius est puniceus cuius color sanguineus
Decus ostendit martyrum rite agonizantium.

Topazius quo carior eo est pretiosior;
Exstat colore chryseo nitore et aetherio
Contemplativae solidum vitae praestat officium.

Iacinthus est caeruleus colore medioximus,
Cuius decora facies mutatur ut temperies
Vitam signat angelicam discretione praeditam.

Amethystus praecipuus decora violaceus ;
Flammas emittit aureas notulasque purpureas,
Praetendit cor humilium Christo commorientium.[1]

Innocent III took a somewhat different view in a letter which he sent[2] to our king Richard Coeur de Lion, in 1198, together with four rings, each with a different precious stone set therein, an emerald, a sapphire, a garnet and a topaz.

Porro smaragdi viriditas fidem, saphiri serenitas spem, granati rubicunditas caritatem, topazii claritas operationem bonam signat.

Dante apportions the colours to Faith, Hope, and Love somewhat differently again :—

Tre donne in giro dalla destra ruota
Venien danzando, l'una tanto rossa,
Ch'a pena fora dentro al fuoco nota :
L'altr'era, come se le carni e l'ossa
Fossero state di smeraldo fatte :
La terza parea neve testè mossa
Ed or parevan dalla bianca tratte,
Or dalla rossa, e dal canto di questa
L'altre toglién l'andare e tarde e ratte.[3]

Spenser varies again :

Lo ! two most goodly virgins came in place,
Ylinkèd arm in arm in lovely wise ;
* * * * *
Of which the eldest, that Fidelia hight,
* * * * *
. . was arrayèd all in lily white.
* * * * *
Her younger sister, that Speranza hight,
Was clad in blue, that her beseemed well.

While Charissa, "full of great love" and "chaste in work and will,"

was all in yellow robes arrayèd, still.[4]

It was with the significance of hope that Dante attired the Angels of Purgatory in green.

[1] C. W. King, *Antique Gems*, London, 1866 ; pp. 430–31.
[2] Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, Rolls Series, 1874 ; vol. ij, pp. 512–3.
[3] *Purgatorio*, xxix, 116 *seq.*
[4] *Faery Queen*, Bk. I ; canto x ; 12–14, 30.

E vidi uscir dell' alto, e scender giue
Du' Angeli con duo spade affocate,
Tronche e private delle punte sue.
Verdi come fogliette pur mo nate
Erano 'n veste, che da verdi penne
Percosse traén dietro e ventilate.[1]

But the Angel of Penance has more sombre garments :

Cenere, o terra, che secca si cavi,
D'un color fora col suo vestimento ;
E di sotto da quel trasse duo chiavi.
L'un' era d'oro, e l'altra era d'argento.[2]

The use of red for feasts of our Lady may be illustrated from Dan Lydgate's *Ballad in Commendation of our Lady*.

O rody rosier, flouring withouten spyne,
Fountayne filthles, as beryl currant clere,
Some drope of gracefnl dewe to us propyne.
* * * * *
O ruby, rubifyed in the passioun
Al of thy sone, among have us in minde.

And in a riming alliterative hymn to our Lady another writer greets her :

Heyl, rose higest of hyde and hewe,
Of all ffruytes feirest fflour,
Heyl turtell trustiest and trewe,
Of all trouthe thou art tresour.[3]

The use of red for Holyrood Days and Passiontide may be illustrated by the following extracts :

In flesshly wede
God gan hym hede,
Of mylde may
Was born to blede,
As cristes crede
Sobely to say ;
On stokky stede
He roode, men rede,
In rede aray.
Fro deuelis drede
þat duk vs lede
At domesday.[4]

1 *Purgatorio*, viij, 25 *seq.*
2 *Ibid.*, ix, 115 *seq.*
3 *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer (Chauceriana and other pieces)*, Oxford, 1894–97 ; vol. vij, pp. 277–78.
4 From *The Dispute between Mary and the Cross*, in *Legends of the Holy Rood*, E.E.T.S., 1871 ; p. 209.

She blesseth hire, and with full pitous vois
Unto the crois of Christ thiss sayde she.
O clere, O weleful auter, holy crois,
Red of the lambes blood ful of pitee,
That wesh the world fro the old iniquitie,
Me fro the fende and fro his clawes kepe
That day that I shall drenchen in the depe.[1]

To which one may add the well known hymn *Vexilla Regis prodeunt.*

Blue appears as a symbol of fidelity, "true blue," in this couplet :

I have sente you blewe
Bycause you should be trew,[2]

sent by a woman to her lover, together with "a blew lace with a treu love," about 1537.

It was an ancient custom in the Church of Soissons, as an extract from the MS. Ritual of the time of bishop Nivelon II testifies, to use green vestments on Easter Even. And the meaning is thus given : Dum ista aguntur, et cereus benedicitur, praeparet se pontifex ad sancta sic : vestimentis simplicibus utatur, ut simplex sacerdos, infula tamen viridi, viror namque vestimentorum redemptionem nostram appropinquante iam die resurrectionis virere designat. Diaconus et subdiaconus habeant vestimenta parata, dalmaticam viridem et tunicam.[3] Probably the green banners for Eastertide used in London and elsewhere had the same significance.

In *The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman*, Avarice wears a tawny tabard.

With an hode on his hed, a lousi hatte aboue,
And in a tauny tabardi of twelue wynter age,
All totorne and baudy, and ful of lys crepynge.[4]

And in the notes Dr. Skeat points out that tawny was a common colour for musicians, and for Jews. He quotes Francis Bacon's forty-first essay,[5] (*On Usury*) arguing that "Usurers should have orange-tawny bonnets, because they do Judaize." But in the *Romaunt of the Rose*, Chaucer paints Avarice as green, and Sorrow as yellow.

Another image set saugh I
Next Coveityse faste by,
And she was cleped AVARICE.
Ful sad and caytif was she eek,

[1] Chaucer, *The Man of Lawes Tale*, ll. 4869 *seq.*
[2] T. Cranmer, *Miscellaneous Writings*, Parker Society, 1846 ; p. 394.
[3] Edm. Martène, *De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*, Lib. IV : cap. xxiv : Antuerpiae 1737 ; t. iij, col. 451.
[4] Ed. W. W. Skeat, E.E.T.S., 1869 ; Text B, Pass. V, ll. 195 *seq.*, p. 67.
[5] Francis Bacon, *Works*, London, 1826 ; vol. ij, p. 340.

And al-so grene as any leek
So yvel hewed was hir colour,
Hir semed have lived in langour.[1]

But as for Sorrow,

Hir seemed have the Iaunyce.
Nought half so pale was Avaryce
Nor no-thing lyk, as of lenesse ;
For sorrowe, thought, and greet distresse,
That she had suffered day and night,
Made hir ful yelwe, & no-thing bright,
Ful fade, pale, and megre also.[2]

[1] W. W. Skeat, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, Oxford, 1894 ; vol. j, p. 102.
[2] *Ibia.*, 106.

Church Vestments

BY THE REV. PERCY DEARMER, M.A.

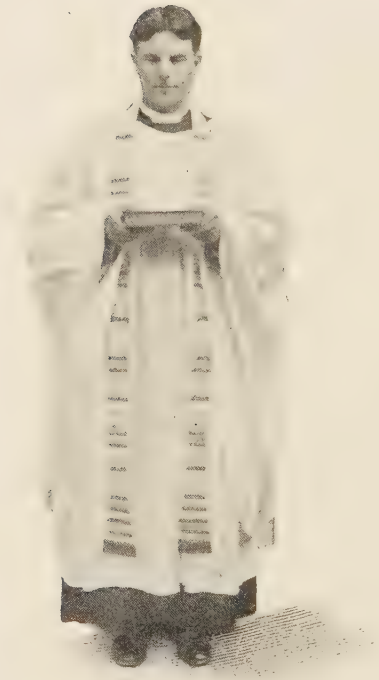


Fig. 1.—Surplice and White Stole (for Baptism or Marriage). By the St. Dunstan Society.

Photograph by J. R. Fowler.

To face p. 179.

Church Vestments

BY THE REV. PERCY DEARMER, M.A.

I.—The Surplice, Alb, Rochet.

The beauty of any apparel lies primarily in its shape and colour, the ornamentation of its surface being altogether a secondary matter. Thus it is with Church vestments : their ornamentation is a mere afterthought, an added luxury, and often an expensive one. Quite superb vestments can be made without a stitch of embroidery ; and, on the other hand, three-quarters of those now made are spoilt by their ornamentation, and thus would be better if every bit of it were stripped off. To recover the beauty of public worship, we must apply this obvious principle both to the hangings of the sanctuary and to the garments of its ministers ; for, obvious as it is to any artist, it was almost entirely forgotten in the ecclesiastical revival of the last century, and had indeed been gradually slipping out of sight since the Renaissance. A very little study of any ancient examples —of the exquisite drapery, for instance, of the bishops and deacons on the west front of Wells Cathedral, or of the gorgeous colour in those church scenes which the Flemish painters have preserved with such fidelity (e.g. "The Exhumation of St. Hubert" in the National Gallery)—a little study of such examples as abound in every cathedral and picture gallery will show any one how profound has been the degradation. First, the grace of line in the old vestments was sacrificed in the latter part of the sixteenth century to the taste for heavy gold orna-

ment, which reduced them to stiff boards for the display of glittering metal; then these excrescences deteriorated in quality till we arrived at the mere vulgar ostentation of to-day, when the most abominable "sweated" embroidery is sprawled over ill-cut chasubles and copes of bad colour and base material. The loss affects not the churchgoer merely as such, but every painter who may happen upon church subjects, and still more the sculptor, who finds many of his ecclesiastical dignitaries almost as unmanageable as the trousered heroes of common life.

The architect who has a chance of advising parson, donor, or churchwardens, can therefore do us all a great service by pointing out the importance of colour and drapery in the hangings and vestments of a church; instead of handing over the mere shell of the building to the tender mercies of the first "ecclesiastical" shop whose advertisements may catch the eye. The diligent lady who is anxious to contribute her needlework to her parish church must remember, or be reminded, that embroidery in itself may be as useless as the splashing of mud, unless *first of all* colour and drapery are thoroughly understood.

It will be convenient if, in this first article, I confine myself to those vestments which rely almost entirely upon shape for their beauty—those fundamental vestments, which are made of plain white linen. They are three in number, namely, the surplice, the alb, and the rochet.

Even in this simple department the widest ignorance prevails. Whenever, for instance, a play is produced with great talk about the accuracy of the costumes, that accuracy invariably stops short at the ecclesiastics. The clerks in such a scene as that in the last act of *Much Ado about Nothing* are always dressed in scarlet cassocks and lace cottas; even Miss Brickdale, whose drawing of costume is not the least beautiful feature of her lovely work, falls short at this point; and, in the picture where

Fig. 2.—Shaped Cope, worn over surplice and tippet. By the St. Dunstan Society.

Photograph by J. R. Fowler.

To face p. 180.]

she has introduced ecclesiastical costume, she makes a fifteenth century personage walk behind a boy in the inevitable modern cotta. This is not so bad as the travelling company which a month or two ago dressed the grave-digger in *Hamlet* in a Franciscan habit, over

Fig. 3.—Sleeved Rochet. By the St. Dunstan Society. Drawn by Berta Ruck.

which was thrown a white chasuble of the "fiddle-back" pattern, and over the chasuble a violet stole!

Now, the cotta is a modern degradation of the rochet. It is too short and "skimpy" for any swing of full drapery to be possible, and resembles a little white vest, or, when it is edged with lace, some mysterious article of

feminine attire. It is generally worn over a cassock of a scarlet so violent as to make any general scheme of colour in the church impossible. It is rapidly becoming obsolete and in most churches on the continent (whence it originated) has been replaced by the rochet or alb.

Fig. 4.—Sleeveless Rochet. By the St. Dunstan Society. Drawn by Berta Ruck.

This fact seems to be unknown to artists and stage managers, who continue to regard the ungraceful and short-lived cotta as the characteristic linen vestment of Christendom for the last thousand years. It must be confessed that a small section of the "advanced" clergy

Fig. 5.—Surplice, Hood, and Tippet (choir habit). By the St. Dunstan Society. Photograph by Kate Pragnell of Brompton.

To face p. 183.]

of the English Church are in equal ignorance, and still wear this indecent garment instead of the ample surplice of English canon law.

The surplice (figs. 1, 2 and 5) is the most graceful of all vestments, when it is cut on the ample lines which have come down to us from the Middle Ages. It is often made

Fig. 6.—Winged Rochet. By the St. Dunstan Society. Drawn by Berta Ruck.

too short and without folds, of the type that is nick-named "sausage-skin," when it loses all its grace and dignity. There can be no doubt that this degradation of shape is due to the rage for cheapness, a properly made surplice needing a considerable amount of material, and costing rather more to wash than the debased variety. There

are many old examples, in pictures, brasses, and effigies, as, for instance, the beautiful figure on Husse's tomb at Wells Cathedral, reproduced in the new edition of *The Parson's Handbook*.

The rochet is a kind of surplice made with tight sleeves (fig. 3), or without sleeves at all (fig. 4). It is often used by servers, because it is less trouble to put on than the alb. There is a further variety worn by our bishops, which has large and puffy sleeves and a frilled wristband. How degraded are these balloon sleeves of eighteenth and nineteenth century bishops can be seen by comparing the Hanoverian pictures in the National Portrait Gallery with the magnificent portrait of Cranmer in the same collection. The bishops have latterly been reducing the proportions of their unsightly "magpie" sleeves, and some are dropping the frills, thus bringing them back to the graceful, dignified, and masculine type of the sixteenth century. With regard to the sleeved and sleeveless varieties of the common server's rochet, it may be noticed that, like the surplice, they depend upon their length and fulness for their beauty. A fourth variety of rochet is that made with wings instead of sleeves (fig. 6), which has survived in Spain, with so many other ancient ornaments. Two most beautiful examples of the winged rochet occur in a picture of two kneeling taperers by Van Eyck.

The alb (figs. 7, 8 and 9) is a linen vestment reaching to the feet, with tight sleeves like the sleeved rochet. It is worn under other vestments by the priest (figs. 7 and 8), deacon (fig. 9) and subdeacon at the Eucharist, and is the original dress of the servers also ; though, as I have said, in their case the rochet is often worn for convenience, and has been so used for the last five hundred years or more. The alb is worn over the amice, a linen neck-cloth ornamented in all English instances with an "apparel," forming a collar round the neck (figs. 7, 8, 9) ; a pair of apparels is also tacked on to the arms and another pair to the skirt, as is shown in figs. 8 and 9. The alb is fastened round the waist by a linen girdle. Apparels

Fig. 7.—Chasuble, Maniple, Stole, Alb, and apparelled Amice. By the St. Dunstan Society.

Photograph by J. R. Fowler.

To face p. 184.]

have been discarded at Rome, and in most Churches of the Roman obedience since the end of the sixteenth century; but they are still in use in Spain. Their disuse in these Churches is unfortunate, as the lace that has taken their place is fatal to the folds and swing that make the beauty of drapery. They are being largely revived in the English Church, and give great opportunity for touches of brilliant colour, and for rich ornamentation that does not interfere with the grace of the vestments.

II.—The Chasuble, Cope, Etc.

There lingers still in the head of the average Englishman a firm conviction that only the plain white surplice is allowed in the Church of England. No doubt thousands of good folk who gazed rapturously at pictures of the recent Coronation with bishops and canons vested in gorgeous copes, will yet continue to bewail the "lawlessness" of those parish clergy who do as their bishops do. It takes a long time to get an idea into people's heads. Therefore it may be worth while to state that the authority for the use of all these vestments in the Church of England is that rubric which is found at the beginning of every copy of the Prayer Book. The "Ornaments Rubric," as it is called, orders "that such Ornaments of the Church, and of the Ministers thereof," as were in lawful use in the year 1548, are to be in use still. Without doubt, those ornaments of the ministers which we shall now consider—the stole, maniple, chasuble, dalmatic, and cope—were commanded to be used, and were used, in the second year of King Edward VI, and therefore are equally enjoined for use in this present year of King Edward VII.

The stole (fig. 1) is now the most common of these vestments. This is, however, simply because it is less conspicuous than the chasuble or cope, for it has exactly the same authority—the Ornaments Rubric—and nothing can be said in its favour that cannot equally be said for

the chasuble. Indeed there is far less to be said: for the stole is not named at all in the First Prayer Book of Edward VI, while the "vestment" and the tunicle are. Nor is the use of the stole consonant with the Canons of 1603, as some people imagine; for, though the cope is mentioned in those Canons, the stole is not. According to the First Prayer Book the stole can only be worn with the chasuble (*i.e.* as part of the Eucharistic "Vestment"). For the use of the stole (whether black or coloured) with the surplice at all we have to go to the "highest" interpretation of the Ornaments Rubric—behind the First Prayer Book, and back to the Medieval custom as retained in the second year of Edward VI, which allows indeed the use of the stole with the surplice for sacramental offices, such as baptism, but not for choir offices or preaching.

The fact that the stole is made of black silk in "Low" churches makes no difference, for it is still a stole, although when it is black its use should properly be confined to funerals. In a good many churches the clergy wear it on all possible occasions; but this is a mistake, owing to the black stole having been confused with the black scarf. The scarf (or tippet, as it is called in the Canons) should be worn for Mattins and Evensong (fig. 2); and the stole should be confined to the administration of Sacraments. Thus fig. 1 represents the proper vestments for a Baptism or Marriage, and not for Morning or Evening Prayer.

The stole, like other vestments, has been much degraded in shape. From being long and narrow it came to be made short and broad, with ugly, spade-like ends. In its proper shape, as shown in fig. 1 and in any medieval brass, it is a strip of material about 9 feet long and not more than 2 inches broad, with the ends but slightly splayed. These ends should be fringed, but the idea that they should have crosses on them is wrong. Down to the seventeenth century, crosses, when they were used (as they often were in Italy and the Nether-

Fig. 8.—Chasuble, Maniple, Stole, apparelled Alb and Amice.
By the St. Dunstan Society.
Photograph by C. P. Small of Hampstead.

To face p. 187.]

lands), were applied continuously to the whole length of the stole; but in England stoles were decorated with some form of diaper work, without any crosses at all. A properly embroidered stole will thus be completely covered from end to end, and will be expensive to make. Gold thread twisted into a conventional pattern is much cheaper, and more beautiful than all but the best embroidery. A cheaper but very effective style of decoration is to apply bars of some rich material at intervals along the whole length of the stole. This is shown in fig. 1 in combination with gold thread, which is used to fill up the spaces. Lastly, stoles may be ornamented with simple bars of braid, or they may be left plain altogether. I have in my possession a perfectly plain stole of a beautiful blue silk, lined with black, and with no decoration but a black and blue fringe at the ends; and there are very few stoles that I would exchange for it.

The chasuble is commonly known to-day in two forms: that which is called Gothic, and that which is called square or "fiddle-back." The latter is a degraded form that seems to have come into use, because it cuts into less material and is therefore cheaper. It is commonly associated with the Roman Catholic Church; though, as a matter of fact, in Catholic Germany the Gothic chasuble has been very generally revived. The ancestor of the fiddle-back chasuble was a far more dignified garment that came into use in the sixteenth century—square in shape, though very long and large; but this shape itself was a degradation from the earlier pattern, and was due to the large amount of gold embroidery, introduced in the luxury of the Renaissance, which made the chasuble too stiff to fall in its old folds and too heavy to set over the shoulders in the old way. That illustrated in fig. 7 is made on the lines of the late medieval type, somewhat fuller than is usual now; but most artists would prefer a garment that is even fuller than fig. 8, so soon as the clergy can be persuaded to wear it. Indeed, the chasuble of the thirteenth century admitted of a great deal of

beautiful drapery, and is very similar to the ample cloak-like chasuble (or pænula) of the sixth-century mosaics at Ravenna, and of the mosaic of St. Ambrose in Milan (*circa* 397), which is the earliest known representation of a bishop. Originally the chasuble was so full as to form a complete circle when laid out flat. The only difficulty in the way of reviving the very full shape of the chasuble is that our tailor-made modern folk have no idea of carrying drapery, and the art of wearing clothes seems to be lost.

The chasuble is always worn over the stole, maniple (a short stole looped on the left arm), alb, and amice. It may be decorated with orphreys, but orphreys are not essential, the majority of English medieval examples being quite plain, with no ornament but a band round the edge, as in fig. 8. These orphreys may be embroidered, or they may be strips of material edged with cord or braid. By a judicious choice of the materials, inexpensive orphreys of a figured silk (as in fig. 7) may be quite as effective as embroidery. Indeed, this method should be adopted unless there is plenty of money to pay fair wages for a good designer and a competent embroideress. Nothing comes up to good embroidery, but good embroidery can never be cheap, and the rage for covering every vestment with some sort of needlework has done infinite harm because this has been forgotten.

The orphrey of a chasuble may be of the shape of a Y cross, as in fig. 7 ; or it may be of the shape of a Latin cross at the back, with a straight "pillar" in front ; or it may take the form of a mere pillar, back and front. There are some other varieties, as in that attributed to St. Thomas à Becket, where the narrow orphrey branches into the Y shape at the bottom as well as at the top of the vestment. Such narrow, strap-like orphreys look very well. Probably the orphreys were first introduced in order to cover the seams ; but they soon came to be employed without any regard to the structure of the vestment. They were, in fact, as they still are, an ornament pure and simple.

Fig. 9.—Dalmatic (Maniple, Stole), apparelled Alb and Amice. By the St. Dunstan Society.

Photograph by J. R. Fowler.

To face p. 189.]

It is, I think, beyond dispute that the most beautiful form of the chasuble is the fuller Gothic shape (as in fig. 7), either with rather narrow orphreys (as in fig. 7), or without any orphreys at all (as in fig. 8 where the vestment is fuller than in fig. 7). The chasuble without orphreys is still not sufficiently appreciated; it has a special beauty and dignity of its own, and is often the best form to use in churches where the people are not accustomed to vestments.

The dalmatic (fig. 9) is the vestment proper to a deacon, which is the reason why St. Stephen, St. Laurence, and other deacon saints are represented in it. Under the name of the tunicle, however, it is worn also by the subdeacon, who with the deacon assists the priest at High Mass, and sometimes (as in the Sarum rite) by the collet, or cross-bearer, as well. In the Lincoln rite the thurifers also wore tunicles, as they did also at Aberdeen. The tunicle is really identical with the dalmatic, though sometimes it is less elaborately ornamented. In the First English Prayer Book (1549) the assistant ministers are ordered to wear "tunacles" at High Mass, which shows that the words were then interchangeable. It should be noticed that the rubric of the First Prayer Book provides for other ministers being vested in tunicles besides the Gospeller and Epistoler:—"And where there be many Priests or Deacons, then so many shall be ready to help the priest in his ministration, as shall be requisite; and shall have upon them likewise the vestures appointed for their ministry, that is to say, albs with tunicles." This vestment is a kind of long coat with sleeves, and, like the chasuble, may be lined or unlined, plain or orphreyed. Naturally, it is made as a rule of the same colour and materials as the other vestments with which it is to be worn. The orphreys may consist of two narrow strips from the shoulders to the hem, which is the form they assume in the early frescoes and mosaics (e.g. at St. Vitale and St. Appollinare in Classe at Ravenna), and is that of the classical *clavus*.

Rectangular patches of rich material—apparels, in fact—are sometimes set between the orphreys, and occasionally tassels fall from the shoulders—a relic of the time when the garment was laced up at the top.

The cope is here shown in two forms, neither of which are common. Fig. 10 shows the two copes from Westminster Abbey, which were made in the seventeenth century, though their exact date is unknown. In the reign of James I a canon was issued enforcing the use of copes in cathedrals, but in the slovenly days of the eighteenth century they disappeared even at Durham, being only retained at Westminster for coronations. The Jacobean copes shown in fig. 10 were last used at the Jubilee of 1887: they show how far the ancient shape was modified; for the orphreys are only represented by the heavy gold embroidery, which is carried round the whole vestment, and the morse which fastens the cope at the breast is so large that the cope itself is almost off the shoulders. In the shape that is worn everywhere to-day the orphrey has recovered its use as a distinct band of material; but the plan of the garment when laid flat is still that of a semi-circle. Now, this "straight" pattern came in with the Renaissance, as did the square chasuble also. The medieval pattern may be called "shaped," i.e. the orphrey was curved so as not to stand stiffly over the shoulders, and as a result the two sides fell down straight in front, and the folds hung much more gracefully. I have tried to recover this pattern, and fig. 2 (a simple red cope with black orphreys for Passiontide) is the result of a design worked out after a study of old brasses and of such artists as Fra Angelico.

In the Middle Ages, vestments were made of any suitable material, and not of silk only, as is now the rule in the Roman Church. The colours generally used were not red and white alone, as has been imagined, but included green, blue (or violet or purple), as well as yellow and black, and a special red and black for Passiontide. In Lent, vestments were of white linen, and cloth-of-gold

Fig. 10.

To face p. 190.]

has always been allowed as a substitute for any colour. There was, however, much confusion in the use of colour in medieval times, the idea of a regular sequence being of late and gradual introduction. But we are not required by the Ornaments Rubric to go back to the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, and attempt a reconstruction of these earlier uses, were that possible; and little evidence is available as to the use of colours in the middle of the sixteenth century. It seems, therefore, safer, as well as most practical, to accept the sequence of the latest English pontificals, retaining also the use of white for Lent, which is known to have survived the reign of Edward VI. This forms the best possible colour sequence. It is better than the Roman sequence, excellent as that is for its simplicity and intelligibility; for, while this English sequence includes the universally understood use of white red, blue, green, and black, it allows also for churches that can afford it the very beautiful and instructive enrichment of yellow for the feasts of Confessors, white for Lent, red and black (or dull red) for Passiontide, as well as cloth of gold for high festivals, which last alternative is allowed in all uses, both eastern and western. A line of explanation as to the use of white linen for Lent may be useful. Until the overthrow of ceremonial by the Elizabethan Puritans, white draperies were universal in Lent; though curiously enough it afterwards became the custom in the eighteenth century, and in some old-fashioned churches down to the third quarter of the nineteenth century to drape the whole church in black for Lent. The white draperies were of rough linen, generally marked with red crosses, or some similar simple ornament; they were used to cover all crosses, pictures, and images, as well as for the altar (see fig. 1 in the next article, "The Altar and its Furniture"), and the vestments of the ministers. Thus Lent is by this method clearly marked out from Advent, and from the weeks following Septuagesima. At the same time, the last fortnight of Lent, the solemn season of Passiontide, is further distinguished by the use of

sober red vestments, the white draperies remaining unchanged.

A word may be said in conclusion about what are called linen vestments. In some churches where a very simple ceremonial is desired, but where at the same time the clergy wish to be faithful to the Ornaments Rubric, chasubles of white linen are now used for all occasions—though one would generally prefer to recommend chasubles of perfectly simple white silk. These linen chasubles are sometimes entirely plain, without any braid, so as to resemble a surplice ; but when the clergy do not offend their people by unnecessary though innocent ceremonial or by fussy or foreign innovations, it is generally possible to make the chasuble more distinct than this. It should in any case be of a coarser (though not less expensive) linen than that used for the alb, and it may be edged with white or coloured braid, or outlined orphreys either of white or coloured braid or of holland may be added. Ultimately, such chasubles can be relegated to Lent if coloured vestments are introduced. It may be worth pointing out that it is better not to aim at a cheap complete set all at once, but to begin by adding a red vestment to the white, and thus gradually to get vestments that are of good quality.

The Altar and its Furniture

BY THE REV. PERCY DEARMER, M.A.

The Altar and its Furniture

BY THE REV. PERCY DEARMER, M.A.

Visitors to an old church are generally told by the guide-book that the altar (constructed, probably, within the last thirty years) is "correct Fifteenth Century," or "Early English," or designed to agree with the date of the church itself. If they have any feeling for architecture, they probably entertain the secret opinion that the original altar must have been somewhat different from its modern substitute. None the less, very few people know how great is the difference between the true Gothic altar and the altar of the Gothic revival. Certainly, very few architects know; and the result is that, one after another, our old churches are being distorted by the erection of altars and reredoses which, though Gothic in detail, are really the product of the later and less refined stages of the Renaissance. That Renaissance type in its full glory is familiar to every traveller—an altar shaped like a sarcophagus, a flight of steps above it crowded with stiff rows of tall candles and gilt imitation-flowers, and surmounted by a towering tabernacle; the whole backed by a huge reredos in plaster, with plaster clouds, plaster rays of sunshine, plaster cherubs of exuberant proportions, and plaster angels blowing tin trumpets. The whole thing is often very well done, and has a certain character when it is the centre of one of those ornate *rococo* churches which are historically associated with the Jesuits abroad. Now, if we try to adapt this style of altar to Gothic requirements, we retain the undraped altar, the steps or gradines, the tabernacle, the rows of candles, and the high

reredos. This is what the architects of the nineteenth century did. They may have done it sometimes very cleverly ; only it is not Gothic—that is to say, it is not the kind of altar for which our old churches were built ; and it is a reversal of what a Christian altar should be, if we accept the model that the Church consistently followed for sixteen centuries, and until she gave way to the encroachments of a very worldly paganism. Briefly, the modern idea of an altar is that it is an advertisement ; the old idea was that it is a shrine. I use the word 'advertisement' in its simplest and best sense ; e.g., the reredos of St. Paul's Cathedral is a striking advertisement of the Christian religion. I do not say that a church should be without that element. But in Gothic churches the altar was reckoned too sacred a thing for this purpose : the great Rood before the chancel arch supplied the need, proclaiming the Christian religion visibly to all comers.

This is the reason, then, why the old parish churches of England so obstinately refuse to adapt themselves to the restorations of well-meaning Churchmen. They have a great east window that leaves only about a yard for the reredos, and no room at all for gradines and tall candles ; hence an erection has to be made covering half the window (in many cases the window has been made so hideous, that every device is used to cover as much as possible). They have a patch of square, bare wall on either side of the altar, which must be covered by encaustic tiles of fearful colours, or by panels of tin painted with crude devices, or by "wings" spread out from the high dorsal. They have only one step, as a rule ; so the restoring architect alters the levels, piling up four or five new steps, till the piscina is near the floor, and the reredos is near the ceiling. They have small chancels, which formed a very dignified vestibule to the altar in old days, but must now be filled with choir stalls, to accommodate a surpliced choir, for which the church was never intended. Thus the old proportions are entirely destroyed.

It is therefore most important that we should thoroughly understand what a Gothic altar is, so that churches as yet unrestored may yet be saved, and others brought back, as far as possible, to their original design.

These are the main principles. The altar itself, not any-

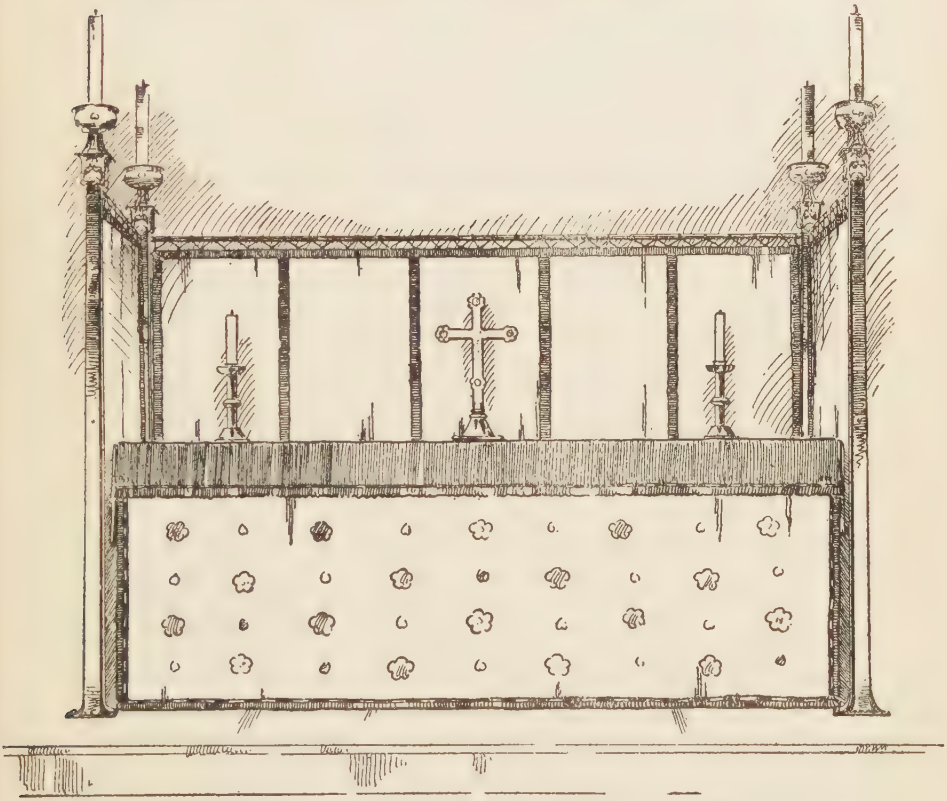


Fig. 1.—Altar at St. Mary's, Primrose Hill, N.W., in Lenten array. Iron Posts and Copper Sconces by Harold Stabler; Frontal, Frontlet, Upper Frontal, and Riddels, by the St. Dunstan Society. Drawn by Harold Stabler.

thing behind it or on it, is the central thing in a church. Given the altar, all that the architect has to do is to drape it (fig. 6), and perhaps to enshrine it (figs. 1–5). We have to disabuse ourselves of the notion that dignity is only obtainable by height: dignity is really to be obtained only

by proportion ; and the proportions of a Gothic church require the dorsal to be kept low. The altar itself is necessarily confined to a certain height (3 feet 3 inches is the proper height) ; and if the dorsal is exaggerated, the altar becomes of subsidiary importance ; indeed, in some flagrant instances it is hardly noticeable at all. It is necessary, then, to emphasize the altar. This the Gothic artists did by making it long (most modern altars are far too short, 10 and 12 feet or even more are common in old instances),

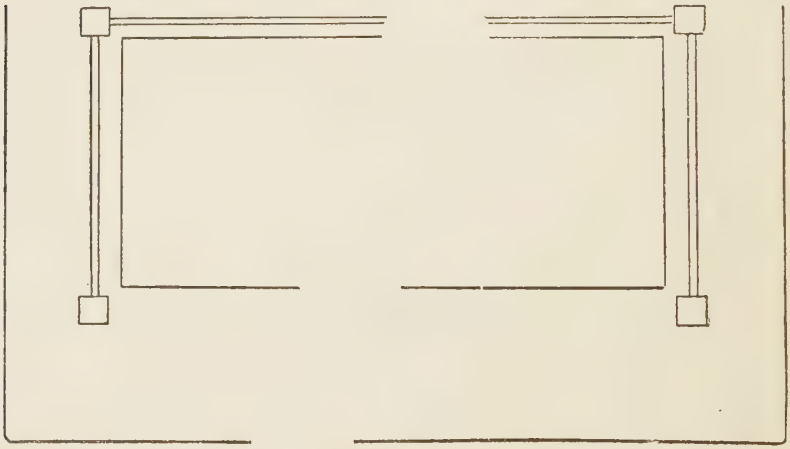


Fig. 2.—Plan of the Altar in Fig. 1, showing the Arrangement of Posts and Rods round the Altar.

by draping it, and often by enclosing it on three sides (figs. 1–5). No one who has seen an altar thus treated can doubt for a moment as to the success of the Gothic plan. In Romanesque architecture these enshrining curtains were a constant feature : they hung from rods between the four pillars of the *ciborium*, the whole being surmounted by a canopy, such as is still to be seen in some of the basilicas of Rome. I cannot doubt but that this plan of the *ciborium*, or baldachin, is by far the best arrangement in all non-Gothic churches, in those that are Renaissance in style as well as those that are Romanesque.

To return to the dimensions of the altar: 3 feet 3 inches is the normal height, and even 2 inches taken from or added to this is inconvenient. The minimum length should be 9 feet (as in fig. 1); anything shorter (as in

Fig. 3.—A Shorter Altar with four wooden posts and two metal sconces. Metal-work by Harold Stabler; Frontal (of Morris Tapestry), Frontlet, Upper Frontlet, and Riddels, by the St. Dunstan Society. Drawn by Harold Stabler.

fig. 3) suffers distinct loss of dignity, while it is nearly always an advantage for a high altar to be 10, 11, or 12 feet in length, or more in large churches. The width of the altar from back to front should not be less than 3 feet, if possible; $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet is just practicable in cases of necessity,

but not desirable, whilst 4 feet is better than 3 feet if there is room for it.

The altar itself may be of the table-form, or (which is better) built up of solid, plain masonry. But it should not be a compromise between the two: a wooden table, made to look solid by panelling the front and the sides, harbours dust, which is an unpardonable offence in the sanctuary. Medieval altars in England were absolutely plain, with a slab of stone on the top; this slab, whether of stone or wood, must project 2 or 3 inches in front, to allow of the suspension of the frontal, and also to allow room below for the feet of the priest. The altar should stand away from the east wall, if there is room, leaving sufficient space for a man to pass behind. In the case of apsidal churches, the altar should stand on the chord of the apse.

The altar should always be draped in time of service. This is ordered by the Canons of the Church of England, and is equally the rule in that of Rome, although the rule is broken—not in Italy, but in France. From this it follows that the altar should be plain—not painted or sculptured. The artist who wishes to exercise his skill may employ it on the reredos, rood-screen, or in a hundred other places where it will be seen to good effect; but not on the altar itself, unless it be on a movable panel that can be attached like a frontal. All altars should be stripped for the last three days of Holy Week, so that the altar is exposed just when great plainness and severity are required.

The altar is vested in the manner here described. (1) A *frontal* is hung from hooks or nails, fastened an inch or two below the slab of the altar. In old times the frontal was hung quite loosely, and folded up when not in use; the effect of this is much better than when a frontal is stretched on a frame, and all the feeling of drapery is lost. Rods are only necessary when frontals are so embroidered that they will not bear folding; otherwise they are inconvenient, and embroidery is better if arranged in panels, so that it can be folded. From this it follows

that a huge chest for holding frontals is unnecessary. Frontals are changed according to the colour of the season: white, red, green, violet (i.e., a medium or dark blue), black,

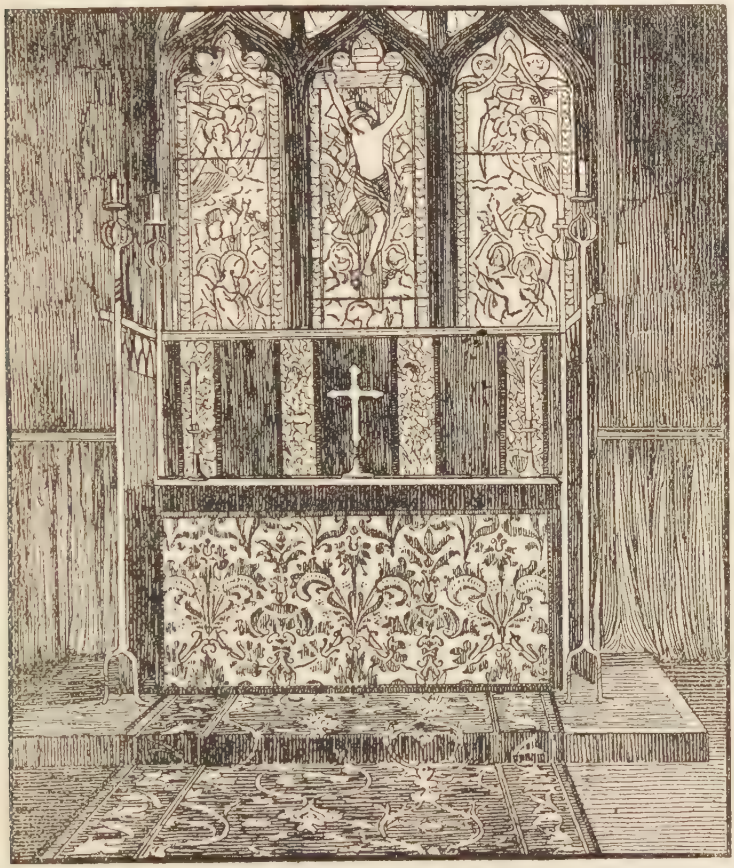


Fig. 4.—Altar at Ewhurst, Sussex, a small Altar. Rods and poles of wrought iron gilded, by Bainbridge Reynolds; Frontal, Frontlet, Upper Frontal, Riddels and Hangings, by the St. Dunstan Society.

yellow, and for Lent white linen (fig. 1), were the usual colours in medieval times. The idea, by the way, that there are certain "ecclesiastical shades" of colour is a pure fiction. (2) The *frontlet* (often wrongly called the super-

frontal) is a strip of material which need not be changed with the frontal, and for which red is a convenient colour for ordinary use. It hangs from the front edge of the altar, to hide the suspension of the frontal. It should not be carried round the sides nor over the top of the altar, but should be simply a strip the length of the altar, and about 8 inches deep (frontlets are nearly always made disproportionately deep), tacked on to one of the linen cloths that cover the slab of the altar. The frontal and frontlet may be of any beautiful material : those usually seen are inexpressibly ugly. They should be fringed, preferably all round. Fringes are generally made too deep, and it is a mistake to work all the colours of the material into the fringe, the colours of which should be simple, broadly spaced, and in some contrast to the material. (3) On the slab of the altar in time of service are laid three *linen cloths* : the first, of rough linen exactly the size of the slab ; the second, of stout linen, and of the same size, on to which the frontlet is tacked ; the third and uppermost linen covering is the "fair linen cloth" of the rubric, which hangs over the ends to within a few inches of the ground.

Behind the altar is the *upper frontal* (or dorsal, or reredos), the normal size of which is about the same as that of the frontal and frontlet together—i.e., 3 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and two or three inches longer than the altar. Upper frontals were sometimes stone or alabaster panels, carved with the figures of saints or with more sacred subjects, the sculpture being painted and gilded. These were of the same average size, so as to keep all well below the sill of the window.

This completes the necessary furniture of the altar (fig. 6). A frequent enrichment is the addition of two side curtains (called *riddels*), which were essential in the *ciborium* of the basilica. As to these riddels, it must be remembered that they should not be spread out in the way one generally sees, but should be kept rigidiy at right angles to the east wall, and thus parallel to the ends of the altar.

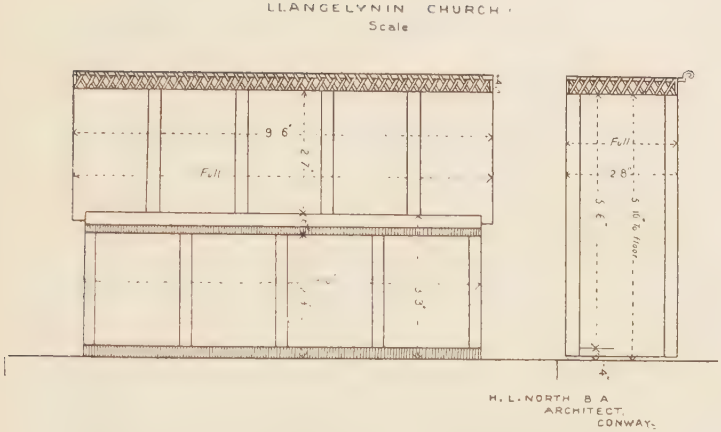


Fig. 5.—Plan of Frontal, Frontlet, Upper Frontal and one Riddel.
By H. L. North.

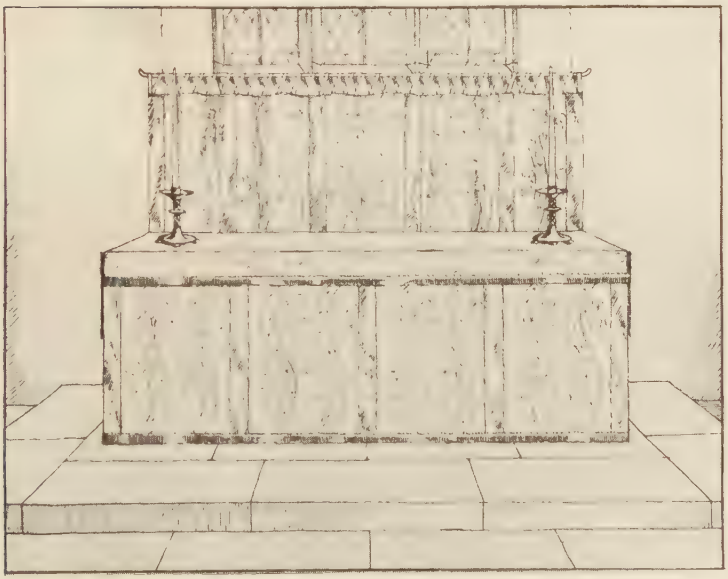


Fig. 6.—Altar with Frontal, Frontlet, Upper Frontal, but without Riddels.
Designed by H. L. North.

To face p. 202.]

They should also project a few inches beyond the front of the altar (fig. 2) ; indeed, their object is to enclose and enshrine the holy table. Let any one try the experiment of closing in the riddels in this way, and he will see at once how great is the improvement. In figures 1, 2, 3 and 4, the riddels are kept in this position by the four posts to which their rods are fixed. These posts were a very beautiful device of the Gothic artists (following on the four pillars of the basilican arrangement), but were often dispensed with. The reader will probably have noticed pictures of the Flemish masters, in which the riddels hang from rods fixed to the frame of the upper frontal without any posts at all, as in fig. 5.

The absence of an altar cross (fig. 6) is now commonly regarded as rather "Low Church." Before the Reformation, however, altar crosses were not very common. Altar vases were unknown ; and really their vogue at present is mainly due to the cold reredoses and wretchedly coloured dorsals, which make people crave for something bright. The upper frontal should be so rich and beautiful, as not to need any flower vases to "brighten it up a bit." I need not remind artists that the ecclesiastical brass-work of the day is capable of very great improvement. If flowers must be used, glass is generally better than brass, and so is good earthenware ; but vases should not be left permanently on the altar, and flowers should be used sparingly and seldom, if at all. I wish, by the way, that churchfolk realised that there are other metals besides brass—copper, pewter, aluminium, and silver, for instance.

There are generally two candlesticks on the altar ; but so little did the Gothic builders rely upon these ornaments, that in many cases the only light used at the Eucharist was one taper held by the clerk, the altar having neither candlesticks, cross, nor vases upon it. In no case were more than two candlesticks set upon the altar.

This rule is still the rule of the Church of England—two lights at most upon the altar, but never more.

Additional lights may indeed be used to mark the festivals, but these should be placed elsewhere—e.g., there may be two standards on the pavement in front of the altar, or two lights in sconces on two of the posts of the riddels (fig. 3), or four lights on the four posts (figs. 1 and 4). The practice of placing a row of six lights on a gradine has proved fatal abroad to the beauty of the upper frontal, for it prevents the use of painting or sculpture (witness the way altar-pieces are now hidden in Italy), and it detracts from the dignity of the altar itself.

The Gothic artist knew nothing of gradines, neither did his predecessors of the classical Romanesque periods. The cross and candles always were, and always should be, placed on the altar itself.

These points, and others will, I hope, be made clear by the illustrations. If anyone should wish to follow the subject farther, I would refer him to Mr. J. N. Comper's article in *Some Principles of the Prayer Book* (edited by Dr. Wickham Legg), Mr. Vernon Staley's *Studies in Ceremonial*, and the second chapter of *The Parson's Handbook*. Many beautiful examples from old illuminations will be found in the Alcuin Club Collections, *English Altars*, by Mr. St. John Hope, and *Exposition de la Messe*, edited by Mr. W. H. Frere.

Some Remarks on the Edwardian Prayer-book

BY E. G. CUTHBERT F. ATCHLEY

Some Remarks on the Edwardian Prayer-book

BY E. G. CUTHBERT F. ATCHLEY

For a long time the Prayer-book of 1549 has exercised a considerable fascination over the minds of a large number of highchurchmen, the reason for which is more obvious at first sight than on further investigation. To a casual observer it presents itself as the firstfruits of the Anglican Church after her purification from mediæval superstition and Romanensian accretion ; an idea encouraged by the first Act of Uniformity (2 & 3 Edw. VI, cap. i.), which boldly asserts that the book was composed "by the aid of the Holy Ghost, with one uniform agreement" of the commissioners appointed to draw it up, *i.e.* Cranmer and "certain of the most learned and discreet bishops, and other learned men of this realm." We have no means of controverting the former of these statements, for the Most High often works through the meanest and least worthy of vessels : and that Somerset and his colleagues would ensure the unanimity of their instruments may be taken for certain : of the commissioners, Cranmer had the most part in the work of compiling this Prayer-book ; but no serious opposition was ever to be feared from his timid and compliant temper.

But when we examine the question a little more closely, we find that, to quote a moderate writer like the late Mr. Dixon,

> The convocations of the clergy had nothing to do with the first Act of Uniformity of Religion. Laymen made the first English Book of Common Prayer into a schedule of a penal statute. As little in the work itself, which was then imposed on the realm, had the clergy originally any share.[1]

The majority of the bishops certainly had no great love for it; nor was it received with aught save ill-favour in the greater part of the country, and, indeed, was only ultimately enforced by means of foreign mercenaries, at the cost of the lives of thousands of Englishmen. "The annals of the Privy Council for this year [1549]" writes[2] Mr. Dixon, "are filled with the names of Italian, Spanish, German, and Flemish captains, the leaders of bands of trained fighting men. . . . It is a thing to be held in eternal memory that the English Reformation, at this great crisis, was carried by the aid of foreign cut-throats, who, on their return to their own countries, sought absolution for the sin of fighting for heresy."

That men in high places were well aware of the risk of going too fast, may be gathered from Latimer's attack on them in his *Sermon of the Plough*, preached in the Shrouds at St. Paul's Cathedral Church, 18 January $15\frac{47}{48}$. Speaking of censing images and burning tapers before them, he relates how the papists dissemble, and say that that honour is done to God and not to the image.[3]

> And though they should abuse it, these blanchers will be ready to whisper the king in the ear, and to tell him that this abuse is but a small matter; and that the same with all other like abuses in the Church, may be reformed easily. "It is but a little abuse," say they, "and it may be easily amended. But it should not be taken in hand at the first, for fear of trouble or further inconvenience. The people

[1] R. W. Dixon, *History of the Church of England*, London, 1885; vol. iii, p. 5.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 48–9.
[3] Hugh Latimer, *Sermons*, Parker Society, 1844; pp. 75-6.

> will not bear sudden alterations; an insurrection may be made after sudden mutation, which may be to the great harm and loss of the realm. Therefore all things shall be well, but not out of hand, for fear of further business." These be the blanchers, that hitherto have stopped the Word of God, and hindered the true setting forth of the same.

After more in the same strain, he goes on to contrast the action of Hezekiah with theirs.

> He would give no ear to the blanchers; he was not moved with the worldly respects, with these prudent considerations, with these policies: he feared not insurrections of the people,

and so on, but destroyed all images.

Cranmer, ever timid and cautious, seems to have had considerable misgivings as to the way his Prayer-book would be received,[1] though he hoped in the following year that "all faithful subjects" would "gladly receive and embrace the same." Francis Enzinas (*alias* Dryander *alias* Duchesne) boldly asserted[2] on 5 June, 1549, that it was "received with the greatest satisfaction." The wish was father to the thought. "The countrymen are everywhere in rebellion," writes John ab Ulmis[3] on 7 August, "and have already committed some murders. The enemies of religion are rampant, neither submitting to God nor to the King. They would give a good deal to renew and confirm the Act of the Six Articles respecting celibacy, images, divine worship, and some other things which are now repealed. The king is now sending a large army against them. . . . The Oxfordshire papists are at last reduced to order, many of them having been apprehended, and some

[1] Thomas Cranmer, *Writings and Disputations*, Parker Society, 1844; p. 354.
[2] *Original Letters*, Parker Society, 1846–47; vol. i, p. 350.
[3] *Ibid.* ii, 391.

gibbeted, and their heads fastened to the walls." Soon after he writes with lively satisfaction that "the rebellion of the peasantry has been marvellously subdued; about five thousand papists have been slain."

Burnet, in his *History of the Reformation*,[1] shows plainly that he quite understood why it was needful to use foreign troops to enforce the Prayer-book of 1549.

> The true secret of it on both sides was this: the bulk of the people of England was still possessed with the old superstition to such a degree, that it was visible that they could not be depended on in any matter that related to the alterations that were made or designed to be made; whereas the Germans were full of zeal on the other side, so that they might be well trusted to.

But though Englishmen were slaughtered in their thousands by the foreign mercenaries brought over by the government, the survivors took not the more kindly to the Book of Common Prayer. Poynet,[2] the bishop who ran off with a butcher's wife and yet continued the intimate friend of Cranmer and Ridley, and court-preacher, affirmed in his sermon delivered before Edward VI on 14 March 1550, that the strongest opposition was still being offered to the religious changes "by the Judges in their circuits, and the Justices of the Peace that be popishly affected, by bishops and their officers in their synods and other meetings of ecclesiastical persons, by schoolmasters in their grammar schools, by stewards when they keep their courts, by priests when they sit to hear auricular confession," and so on; a goodly array of persons in truth, comprising the majority of intelligent and educated people in the kingdom. But after all,

[1] J. Burnet, *History of the Reformation*, Ed. N. Pocock, Oxford, 1865; vol. iii, p. 329.

[2] John Ponet, *A notable sermon concerninge the ryght use of the lorde's supper, etc.*, Gwalter Lynne, London, 1550; Sign. F. 2 (British Museum, 696. a. 27). Ridley wrote to the same effect later (*Works*, Parker Society, 1841; pp. 58, 59, 60).

what further testimony to the manner of the reception of the first English Prayer-book do we need than the second Act of Uniformity? There, after extravagant laudation of this book, we are told that "a great number of people in divers parts of this realm . . . do willingly and damnably before Almighty God abstain and refuse to come to their parish churches and other places where Common Prayer, Administration of the Sacraments, and Preaching of the Word of God, is used."

On Christmas Day, 1549, the king in council issued a proclamation for bringing in the old Latin ritual books,[1] because since the apprehension of the Duke of Somerset divers unquiet and evil-disposed persons, "noised and bruited abroad that they should have again their old Latin service" as though the setting forth of the Prayer-book had been only the act of the said duke: and the people in many places shewed their dislike of "the Christmas game" (as the Westcountrymen called it) by refusing to pay for finding the bread and wine for the holy communion, in consequence of which it was many times omitted on the Sunday.

It is the fashion in some circles to regard the first Edwardian Prayer-book as a thing in itself. But, as a matter of fact, Somerset and his colleagues from the first intended to bring the teaching of the Church of England down to the level of the Genevan religion; and the Prayer-book of 1549 merely marks one stage of the downward path, of which that of 1552 is another, to be finally (perhaps) reached in that book of which no copy is now known, but of which Bullinger[2]

> reported to master Williams, Whittingham, Gilbie and others, that Cranmer Bishop of Canterbury had drawn up a book of prayer an hundred times more perfect than this that we now have [*i.e.* the second Edwardian book], the

[1] T. Cranmer, *Miscellaneous Writings*, Parker Society, 1846; p. 522.

[2] *A Brieff discours off the troubles begonne at Franckford in Germany, Anno Domini* 1554, 1575; p. li.

same could not take place, for that he was matched with such a wicked clergy and convocation, with other enemies.

The Duke of Somerset[1] acknowledged Calvin to be a servant of God's Son, whom he desired above all things to obey, and Calvin recognised in Somerset a thorough disciple :—"It is needless," he wrote[2] on 22 October 1548, "for me to point out what doctrine ought to be inculcated. Rather, I thank our gracious God, that, after having enlightened you with a pure knowledge of himself, He has given you wisdom and discretion to cause his pure truth to be preached. God be praised, you have not to learn what is the true faith of Christians, and the doctrines which they ought to hold ; since it is through your means that the true purity of the faith has been restored." In the previous reign[3] it appears that Somerset "not only favoured, but furthered the truth of God and His glory in most dangerous times," from which we may conclude that he had protected the men of the "New Learning" at a time when their cause was distinctly unpopular even with those in power. He was very pleased with the marriage of Henry to Anne of Cleves,[4] a union on which many great hopes were built by the Protestant party. But with her fall all chances that Lutheranism ever had in England were lost for ever.

Writing two days before the death of Henry VIII to the Calvinist Henry Bullinger, Richard Hilles[5] says : "the new queen and the earl of Hertford, who is the uncle of the prince the king's son, are well disposed to pious doctrine, and abominate the fond inventions of the papists" : and in telling him on the 25th of February of Hertford's

[1] G. C. Gorham, *Gleanings of a few scattered ears*, London, 1857 ; p. 55.
[2] *Ibid.* 61.
[3] British Museum, Royal MS. 17. C. v. *Of the Sacrament of thanksgiving ; a short treatise of Peter Martyr's making*, fol. 1 quoted in Gasquet and Bishop's *Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer*, London, 1891 ; p. 158.
[4] *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, Rolls Series, 1894 ; vol. xiv, pt. i, no. 1275, p. 561.
[5] *Original Letters*, i, 256.

appointment as Lord Protector on the accession of Edward, says further[1]: "he is not very favourable to the priests, and a great enemy to the pope of Rome." The doctrine of election may be clearly seen in Somerset's well known Prayer[2]: "I am a vessel for thy Mercy: thy Justice will not condemn me. I am recorded in the Book of Life. . . . Thou, Lord, by thy providence hast called me to rule; make me therefore able to follow thy calling."

Somerset's religious opinions were, then, calvinistic. But he never was a persecutor, to the extent of enforcing the death penalty for heresy. Short of that, however, he did a good deal. The reason was, probably, that he did not care sufficiently about religion to be a bigot. The Protestants[3] found fault with him, "that he was of a more gentle and pliant nature in religious matters than was befitting a nobleman possessed of so much authority." Nor did he "always use these mercies of God as a Christian should do, but rather that he grievously and wickedly misused them," according to Francis Bourgoyne[4] in a letter to Calvin dated 22 January 1552: and he adds—

> Master à Lasco himself, with whom you are acquainted, can bear sufficient testimony, among others, that during almost the whole time when we were both of us here together, he had become so lukewarm in the service of Christ as scarcely to have anything less at heart than the state of religion in this country. . . . I fear, as far as I have been able to discover the disposition of the man, that if it had been more for his interest to have followed a different course, he would some time or other have made his recantation.

Even his liberality was considered[5] to have been questionable:

> I know with greater certainty than I could wish, that

[1] *Ibid.*, 258.
[2] J. Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, London, 1816; vol. vi, p. 291
[3] *Original Letters*, ii, 439.
[4] *Ibid.*, 734. [5] *Ibid.*, 734.

this was done more for the sake of pleasing man than God: and that it was rather on this ground, that he was unwilling to lose the reputation which he had acquired than from a sincere regard to godliness.

Somerset and Calvin not only corresponded, but from a letter which the latter wrote to the Protector dated 22 October 1548, it is evident that the Prayer-book had been sent to him for comment, and he excepts against the prayer for the dead in the Communion, and the ceremonies of the Chrisom and of Unction.[1] Calvin also says that some were restrained by the fear that too great a change would not be tolerated, which he says may be allowable in worldly affairs but not in the spiritual government of the Church.[2] In the same letter he urges Somerset to repress both the Anabaptists and the party of the Roman Antichrist by the sword.[3] Calvin's influence did not cease with the fall of Somerset, for Cranmer assured him that he could do nothing more useful than to write frequently to the king[4]; a suggestion which the Genevan despot was not slow in following up.

But though Somerset was, by profession, a Calvinist in doctrine, his polity was the very antithesis of Calvin's. Calvin held that the Church [*i.e.* Calvin himself] must be supreme over all. Somerset followed Erastus and held that the State [*i.e.* Somerset and his friends] must be first. As has been excellently said, "his religion was Calvinism,[5] tempered with Erastianism and the love of Mammon."

Some, while allowing that Somerset's intention from the first was to bring the Church in England to the doctrinal level of foreign protestantism, have denied that he intended to interfere with the government of the Church.

But the correspondence between Gardiner and Paget throws some doubt on that position. On 6 February

[1] Gorham's *Gleanings*, 66–7–8.
[2] *Ibid.*, 68. [3] *Ibid.*, 59. [4] *Ibid.*, 267.
[5] Leighton Pullan, *The History of the Book of Common Prayer*, London, 1900; p. 82.

$15\frac{46}{47}$, the Council ordered[1] the bishops to renew their commissions of spiritual jurisdiction. Cranmer's was made out the next day[2]: but the others were not forthcoming so soon. Gardiner wrote on 1 March to Paget asking that his might be drawn out as favourably as he had promised.[3] There runs through the latter part of the letter an idea that bishops might eventually be got rid of: and Paget's answer[4] cannot have altogether re-assured him:—

> I malign not bishops, but would that both they and all other men were in such order as might be most to the glory of God and the benefit of the realm, and much less I malign your lordship, but wish ye well, and if the state of bishops is or shall be thought meet to be reformed, I wish either ye were no bishop, or that ye could have such a pliable will as could well bear the reformation that should be thought meet for the quiet of the realm.

In all human probability the historic cowardice of the majority of the English bishops saved the episcopate as a body. A sufficient number were content to be the tools of the Council to enable the few men of backbone to be browbeaten and imprisoned. It was not till the later years of Edward that they affected the title of Superintendents after the manner of foreign protestant bodies: but the title never received any authoritative sanction.[5]

It has been said that Somerset never regained his power after October 1549, and that therefore all that happened

[1] *Acts of the Privy Council*, 1547–1550, Rolls Series, 1890; N. S. vol. ii, p. 13.

[2] G. Burnet, *History of the Reformation*, Ed. N. Pocock, Oxford, 1865; vol. v, p. 127.

[3] Gardiner's letter to Paget has been printed by the late Rev. N. Pocock in *Union Review*, January, 1873; pp. 41 sq. It is dated 1 March $15\frac{46}{47}$.

[4] Paget's answer follows (*Ibid.*, 45 sq.). It is also given in P. F. Tytler, *England under the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary*, London, 1839; vol. i, pp. 24 sq.

[5] J. Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, London, 1816; vol. ii, p. 317. N. Sander, *De origine ac progressu schismatis anglicani*, Colonia Agrippina, 1585; fol. 128.

since must be laid to the doors of other folk than his. The appointment of John Hooper, the friend of à Lasco, chaplain to the Protector Somerset and the most advanced in his opinions of any of the prominent Englishmen of the time, to the bishopric of Gloucester, was a definite sign of the way they who appointed him wished things to go. John ab Ulmis,[1] writing to Henry Bullinger from Oxford on 28 May 1550, tells him :—

> Our friend Hooper, who was at Zürich, was made a bishop on the day of the Lord's Ascension. The king's uncle, the Duke of Somerset, carried this in the council against the opposition of almost all the bishops.

This would seem to show that Somerset certainly had not the intention of letting the book of 1549 be the final stage. And that such was the case we have abundant evidence from other sources, to which we will recur later.

It is not, however, true that Somerset's power was gone. As the editor of the *Acts of the Privy Council* points out, after his recovery from his first fall, his name still appears first on the lists of the Privy Councillors present at meetings, and he seems to have been allowed a free hand in religious matters. He took a prominent part in the persecution of Day over the question of the abolition of altars,[2] the deprivation of Gardiner, and imprisonment of Heath.

Cranmer's original plan at the end of Henry's reign or the commencement of Edward's seems to have been to bring about a fusion of all the non-Roman bodies on the Continent, whether Lutherans, Calvinists, or Zwinglians, with the Church in England, in order to form a compact and united front to Rome.[3] For his own part he seems to have been willing to drop all subjects on which these differed in order to form a false unity. His

[1] *Original Letters*, ii, 410.

[2] *Acts of the Privy Council*, 1550–1552, Rolls Series, 1891 ; vol. iii, preface, viii.

[3] See Cranmer's letters to Melanchthon and others quoted below.

own opinions he changed rapidly. In 1548 Cranmer published a translation of the Catechism of the Lutheran Justus Jonas. He confessed[1] afterwards that "not long before" he "wrote the said Catechism," he "was in that error of the real presence," by which he meant the Lutheran doctrine, for he goes on to say that in times past he was "in divers other errors; as of transubstantiation, of the sacrifice propitiatory of the priests in the mass," etc., etc. The crucial passage in this book[2] is as follows :—

> Secondarily Christ saith of the bread, "this is my body," and of the cup he saith, "this is my blood." Wherefore we ought to believe that in the sacrament we receive truly the body and blood of Christ. For God is almighty (as ye heard in the Creed). He is able to do all things what he will. And, as Saint Paul writeth, he calleth those things which be not as if they were. Wherefore when Christ taketh bread, and saith "Take, eat, this is my body," we ought not to doubt but we eat His very body. And when he taketh the cup, and saith, "Take, drink, that this is my blood," we ought not to doubt but we drink His very blood.

The full significance of this is not to be understood until we turn to the Latin[3] of Justus Jonas from which Cranmer translated it.

> Deinde de pane dicit "Hoc est corpus meum," et de calice "Hic est sanguis meus." Ideo credere debemus, quod vere corpus et sanguis eius sit; nam Deus est omnipotens, ut in symbolo audistis; ideo omnia potest facere, quae vult; et vocat ea quae non sunt, tanquam sint, sicut Paulus dicit, hoc est, quando ipse aliquam rem vocat et nominat, quae ante non erat, tunc mox fit hoc ipsum sicut Dominus nominat. Ergo quando accipit panem, et dicit, "Hoc est

[1] T. Cranmer, *Writings and Disputations*, Parker Society, 1844; p. 374.
[2] *A short instruction into the Christian Religion, etc.*, Ed. E. Burton, Oxford, 1829; ii, 207-8.
[3] *Ibid.*, i, 176-7.

> corpus meum," tum mox ibi est corpus Domini ; et quando calicem accipit, et dicit, "Hic est sanguis meus," tunc mox adest sanguis eius.

Here we have a plain unambiguous statement that the bread and wine *become (fit)* immediately on the saying of the words of institution, the Body and Blood of Christ. But Cranmer waters the expressions *fit*, *est*, *adest*, down to *we ought to believe that we receive*, *that we eat*, *that we drink*. More than that, he omits the statement ascribed to St. Paul, that when Christ calls things by another name, they *become* at once what he calls them. And when taxed with this passage in his Catechism as teaching the doctrine of the real presence, he denied that it did so, and querulously asserted that "divers ignorant persons, not used to read old ancient authors, nor acquainted with their phrase and manner of speech, did carp and reprehend for lack of good understanding" the passage in question.[1] And he explains the exact meaning that he intended it to bear in the following words, in answer to Gardiner :—

> In that Catechism I teach not, as you do, that the body and blood of Christ is contained in the sacrament, being reserved, but that *in the ministration thereof* we receive the body and blood of Christ ; whereunto if it may please you to add or understand this word "spiritually," then is the doctrine of my Catechism sound and good in all men's ears, which know the true doctrine of the sacraments.[2]

When Cranmer first thought of translating the Catechism of Justus Jonas we see, therefore, that he was inclined to Lutheran opinions ; but that before he came to the *Instruction on the Lord's Supper*, which terminates the book, he had given up Lutheranism and adopted some variety of the Receptionist theory. He does not

[1] Cranmer's *Writings*, 226 : cnf. 190. It was Cranmer's usual way when taxed with contradictory statements to abuse the intelligence of his opponents.

[2] *Ibid.*, 227.

appear to have settled down into Zwinglianism all at once, if we may trust the opinions of his friends written at the time, but to have "wobbled" for some months, uncertain of what he really did believe. As an illustration of this it will be best to quote from a series of letters, giving the dates and the writers' names.

BARTHOLOMEW TRAHERON (*Zwinglian-Calvinist*) to HENRY BULLINGER (*Zwinglian*).

1 *August* 1548.

You must know that all our countrymen who are sincerely favourable to the restoration of truth, entertain in all respects like opinions with you : and not only such as are placed at the summit of honour, but those who are ranked in the number of men of learning. I except the Archbishop of Canterbury and Latimer, and a very few learned men besides; for from among the nobility I know not one whose opinions are otherwise than what they ought to be. As to Canterbury he conducts himself in such a way, I know not how, as that the people do not think much of him, and the nobility regard him as luke-warm. In other respects he is a kind and good-natured man.[1]

JOHN AB ULMIS (*Zwinglian*) to H. BULLINGER.

18 *August* 1548.

I would have you know this for certain, that this Thomas [Cranmer] has fallen into so heavy a slumber, that we entertain but a very cold hope that he will be aroused even by your most learned letter. For he has lately published a Catechism, in which he has not only approved that foul and sacrilegious transubstantiation of the papists in the holy supper of our Saviour, but all the dreams of Luther seem to him sufficiently well grounded, perspicuous, and lucid.[2]

[1] *Original Letters*, i, 320. Traheron was at one time a minorite Friar. In 1537 he joined Bullinger at Zurich : 1546 found him at Geneva with Calvin. He sat in Parliament in 1548 ; was made Dean of Chichester, January, 1552, and afterwards Canon of Windsor. See *ibid.*, p. 327, for his Calvinian opinions.

[2] *Ibid.*, ii, 380-1.

JOHN BURCHER (*Zwinglian*) *to the same.*

29 *October* 1548.

The condition of our England is such as I can neither much commend or find fault with. A more sincere and pure feeling of religion has begun to flourish with success; but Satan, through his hatred of this has been endeavouring to throw everything into confusion by means of dissension. The Archbishop of Canterbury, moved, no doubt, by the advice of Peter Martyr and other Lutherans, has ordered a catechism of some Lutheran opinions to be translated and published in our language. This little book has occasioned no little discord; so that fightings have frequently taken place among the common people, on account of their diversity of opinion, even during the sermons.[1]

JOHN AB ULMIS *to same.*

27 *November* 1548.

The bishops entertain right and excellent opinions respecting the holy supper of Jesus Christ. That abominable error and silly opinion of a carnal eating has been long since banished and entirely done away with. Even that Thomas [Cranmer] about whom I wrote to you when I was in London, by the goodness of God and the instrumentality of that most upright and judicious man, Master John à Lasco, is in a great measure recovered from his dangerous lethargy.[2]

B. TRAHERON *to same.*

31 *December* 1548.

On the 14th December, if I mistake not, a disputation was held in London concerning the Eucharist, in the presence of almost all the nobility of England. The arguments were sharply contested by the bishops. The Archbishop of Canterbury, contrary to general expectation, most openly, firmly, and learnedly maintained your opinion upon this subject. His arguments were as follows :—The Body

[1] *Ibid.*, ii, 642-3. [2] *Ibid.*, ii, 383.

of Christ was taken up from us into heaven, Christ has left the world. "Ye have the poor always with you, but me ye have not always," etc. . . . I perceive that it is all over now with Lutheranism.[1]

PETER MARTYR to JOHN UTENHOVEN.

15 *January* $15\frac{48}{49}$.

All those who are enabled to know more about this matter, bid us to be of good courage, and give us hope that the matter will prosper exceedingly well. Lord grant that such may be the event, speedily and peacefully. Our Most Reverend fights strenuously and with the highest commendation of all good men. . . . I see that there is nothing more difficult in the world than to found a Church.[2]

JOHN AB ULMIS *to same.*

2 *March* $15\frac{48}{49}$.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, a man of singular worth and learning, has, contrary to the general expectation, delivered his opinion upon this subject [the Lord's supper] learnedly, correctly, orderly, and clearly; and by the weight of his character, and the dignity of his language and sentiments, easily drew over over all his hearers to our way of thinking.[3]

JOHN HOOPER (*Zwinglian*) *to same.*

27 *December* 1549.

The Archbishop of Canterbury entertains right views as to the nature of Christ's presence in the supper, and is now very friendly towards myself.[4]

[1] *Original Letters*, i, 322–3.
[2] Gorham's *Gleanings*, 74.
[3] *Original Letters*, ii, 388.
[4] *Ibid.*, i, 71.

PETER MARTYR (*Lutheran, then Zwinglian-Calvinist*) *to the same.*

27 *January* 1550.

> The perverseness of the bishops is incredible: they oppose us with all their might: yet some of that order, though very few, are favourable to the undertaking. The labour of the most reverend the Archbishop of Canterbury is not to be expressed. For whatever has hitherto been wrested from them, we have acquired solely by the industry, and activity, and importunity of this prelate.[1]

MARTIN MICRONIUS to BULLINGER.

28 *August* 1550.

> The Archbishop of Canterbury, the especial patron of the foreigners, has been the chief support and promoter of our church [the Dutch], to the great astonishment of some; but God can make use of all persons to the advancement of His glory.[2]

Although ostensibly written by Edward, the letter to the Senate of Zürich of 20 October 1549, which states that "there is a mutual agreement between us concerning the Christian religion and true godliness," was doubtless penned by Cranmer.[3]

Further evidence that the Prayer-book was not the final goal may be seen in the opinions of those foreigners whom Cranmer and Somerset invited over to do the work that they could not get educated Englishmen to do.

As early as midsummer, 1547, we find a number of foreign pensioners[4] enrolled in the *Household Book of Edward VI.* There are no less than twenty-five, of

[1] *Ibid.*, ii, 479–80.

[2] *Ibid.*, ii, 568. Martin Micronius was a colleague of J. à Lasco, and minister of the Dutch church. He was the author of *A Short and Faythful Instruction*, dated 8 December 1552, which has been reprinted by Mr. Pocock in *Troubles connected with the Prayer Book of* 1549 (Camden Society, 1884; pp. xxxj, 89).

[3] *Ibid.*, i, 1.

[4] *Trevelyan Papers Prior to A.D.* 1558, Camden Society, 1857; p. 196.

various nationalities, who received their first quarterly payments on that date, showing that they must have arrived in England about 25 March. The only name of importance is the first, Walter Deloens,[1] afterwards superintendent of the Dutch Congregation set up in London in 1550. What the employment of these pensioners may have been we cannot tell; it has been suggested that they were utilized for proselytising the Londoners. More important are the foreign divines. In 1547 Peter Martyr Vermigli and Bernard Ochino came over at Cranmer's invitation and at the expense of the Privy Council.[2] The bill for their journey from Strassburg has been printed more than once. It is dated 20 December 1547, and the total amount comes to £126 7*s.* 6*d.*, largely laid out in books and wearing apparel. Cranmer received them at Lambeth Palace, and a pension of forty marks[3] was granted Martyr and a hundred marks to Ochino through his influence. Both these men were still Lutherans after they arrived in England, but their opinions rapidly sheered round to the denial of all sacramental grace which characterizes the Zwinglian religion. Certainly by March $15\frac{48}{49}$ Martyr had openly declared his adherence to the opinions of Bullinger and Zwingli.[4] When he first went to Oxford (where he was made Regius Professor of Divinity) his lectures had the same ambiguous ring as Cranmer's Catechism, but soon they became more definitely Zwinglian. Cranmer, however, stated that Martyr's opinions were always the same; that when he stayed with him at Lambeth before going to Oxford he was of the same mind as when he wrote his book[5]; that is, that he was a Zwinglian.

[1] T. Rymer, *Foedera*, Hagae Comitis, 1741; t. xi, pars. iii et iv, p. 195, dated 24 July 1550.

[2] Gorham's *Gleanings*, 38 sq., from *Archaeologia*, 1826; xxi, 471 sq. The grant to Peter Martyr is in Rymer, 9 May 1548 (*Foedera*, Hagae Comitis, 1741; t. vi, pars iii et iv, p. 165).

[3] *Dictionary of National Biography*, s. nom. *Ochino* (xli, 351).

[4] *Original Letters*, ii, 388.

[5] Cranmer's *Writings*, 374.

In his invitations to John à Lasco[1] and to Melanchthon (through Hardenberg),[2] Cranmer states :—

> We are desirous of setting forth in our churches the true doctrine of God, and have no wish to be shifting and unstable, or to deal in ambiguities ; but, laying aside all carnal considerations, to transmit to posterity a true and explicit form of doctrine agreeable to the rule of the sacred writings ; so that there may not only be set forth among all nations an illustrious testimony respecting our doctrine, delivered by the grave authority of learned and godly men, but that all posterity may have a pattern to imitate. For the purpose of carrying this important design into execution we have thought it necessary to have the assistance of learned men, who, having compared their opinions together with us, may do away with the doctrinal controversies, and build up a complete system of true doctrine.

These letters are dated 4 and 28 July 1548, respectively : but à Lasco had had an invitation in 1547, and Melanchthon two before this.[3] It is noteworthy that Cranmer and his accomplices had to go abroad to find these "learned men." On 19 July 1548, à Lasco wrote from Embden to Albert Hardenberg :—

> The sacramentarian controversy is begun to be agitated in that country [England] among some persons ; and a public disputation has been appointed on that matter, to which I am called by the earnest prayers of many. Butzer is expected ; one Thomas Dryander is already there ; and there are whispers about Calvin, but he is a Frenchman.[4]

À Lasco[5] arrived in August of the same year and was recognized as the leader of the extreme Zwinglian party,

[1] T. Cranmer's *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters*, Parker Society, 1846 ; p. 421.
[2] *Ibid.*, 422. [3] *Ibid.*, 421.
[4] Gorham's *Gleanings*, 52.
[5] He received £50 from the Treasurer, 13 February $15\frac{48}{49}$ (*Acts of the Privy Council*, Rolls Series, 1890; vol. ii, p. 244). T. Rymer, *Foedera, Ed. et tom. cit.* 174, 175.

as opposed to Butzer, Martyr, and Ochino, whose tendencies were, at any rate at first, more towards the Lutheran view of the Eucharist, though they soon gravitated towards Calvinian, if not Zwinglian, views.

Bernadino Ochino in 1542 had been licensed to preach at Geneva,[1] and Calvin in a letter to Conrad Pellican, dated 19 April 1543, says that he was quite satisfied that Ochino agreed with him in every particular.[2] In England, however, for some months the extreme Zwinglians, like Hooper, looked on him as a Lutheran.[3] Cranmer made him a prebendary of Canterbury[4] on 9 May 1548. It was this Ochino whose opinions afterwards developed into Arianism, and approval of polygamy.[5]

Utenhoven, a nobleman of Ghent, was residing with Cranmer at Canterbury,[6] in September, 1548. He was an intimate friend of Peter Martyr, and their religious opinions appear to have been the same. Martin Butzer (Kuhhorn) was invited[7] in October, 1548, "to become a labourer in the harvest of the Lord," and Paul Fagius in the following spring.[8] Peter Alexander[9] had been invited in 1547. It is not certain when he arrived, but he and Fagius were at Lambeth in June 1549. They received pensions of £100 a year each, on 26 September 1549. Wolfgang Musculus[10] was frequently pressed to come to England, from July 1548 onwards, but never came.

Butzer was more or less of a Lutheran to the end :

[1] Karl Benrath, *Bernadino Ochino of Siena*, London, 1876 ; p. 150.
[2] *Ibid.*, 152. [3] *Original Letters*, i, 61.
[4] Dict. of Nat. Biogr., *sub nomine*.
[5] *Bernadino Ochino*, 267.
[6] Gorham's *Gleanings*, 54. John Utenhove, a nobleman of Ghent, was a friend of John à Lasco's. He came to England in 1548, and assisted à Lasco in the organization of the Dutch churches in London and Canterbury.
[7] T. Cranmer's *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters*, 423–4.
[8] Gorham's *Gleanings*, 76.
[9] *Ibid.*, 149. Alexander was at Lambeth 24 March 1549 (*Ibid.*, 75. *Orig. Lett.*, 329).
[10] *Original Letters*, i, 335, 336.

the Zwinglians persistently called him so, but his published opinions on the Eucharist do not differ very markedly from those of Calvin, although his language is more catholic in tone. Fagius had a reputation for learning in Hebrew. He did not live long enough to exercise much influence; his opinions seem to have coincided with his intimate friend Butzer's. Alexander was also of the same party. Musculus, too, at one time belonged to the Lutherans. In 1544 he wrote a commentary on St. Matthew,[1] in which his teaching on the Eucharist seems to approach orthodoxy, and it may be that Cranmer had no other information of his opinions than this work, which was printed at Basel in 1544, afforded. However, before the summer of 1549 he had explained his then statements in a thoroughly Zwinglian sense,[2] and it was with the full knowledge of this that Cranmer, by à Lasco's advice, invited him to England in April 1551, together with Theodore Bibliander (Buchmann), the successor of Zwingli at Zürich.[3]

To a third class of evidence of the intentions of Cranmer and the Council concerning religion, belongs the protestant crusade by means of Licensed Preachers (all others being forbidden to preach), the Press, and the Play.

The names of the preachers licensed "since July," in the year 1547, show very conclusively whose doctrines were to be *attacked*, though they are inconclusive as to the particular shade of protestantism that was to be substituted for them. Only those who may popularly speaking be described as protestants were licensed. Mr. Pocock printed the list in a paper entitled, *Gleanings from the State Papers of the Reign of Edward VI.*,[4] which

[1] Wolfgang Musculus, *Commentarii in Matthaeum evangelistam tribus tomis digesti*, Basileae, 1611; pp. 513 sq.

[2] The whole *Explanation* is in Gorham's *Gleanings*, 108 sq. The date of it is *before* Butzer's letter of August 1549, given on p. 103 of the same book.

[3] *Ibid.*, 245.

[4] Pp. 55–6. Mr. R. W. Dixon has also printed the list in the 2nd volume of his *History of the Church of England*, p. 434.

appeared in the *Union Review* for January 1873. A certain number of these men have left no records behind them to show what opinions they held. Of the seventy-five men who were then licensed, many were amongst the exiles who hurriedly departed[1] at Mary's accession. There were for instance, Edmund Allen, John Cox, Lever, Sandes, Rob. Watson, John Macbrain, Thos. Cottesforde, John Appelby, Rob. King, Wm. Turner, J. Knox, J. Willock, Jas. Haddon, Thos. Sampson, Edm. Grindal, Alexander Nowell, Richard Cox, and Horne. Four at least were executed[2] for heresy in Mary's reign :—Laurence Saunders, Rowland Taylor, J. Cardmaker, and John Bradford.

Taylor, Bradford, and Saunders were pronounced Calvinists, and so were Knox, Grindal, and Sampson. Turner, Somerset's physician, was at this time a Zwinglian-Calvinist. Edmund Allen, like so many others, belonged to that wing of the Lutheran faction that looked for a union between themselves and the Calvinists : but as time went on they developed more or less rapidly into Zwinglianism. Robert Horne, afterward Dean of Durham, was described in a letter[3] written by Northumberland 2 January $15\frac{52}{53}$ as "undoubtedly not only a greedy covetous man, but also a malicious, and an open evil speaker." He was an active destroyer of "objects of superstition." Amongst the names are also those of Latimer, Matthew Parker, Jewell, Thomas Rose, Henry Sydal, William Bill, Richard Taverner, etc. Rose was perhaps the curate of Hadleigh of the same name, who distinguished himself in 1533 and 1534 by his protestant opinions, and was patronized[4] then by Cranmer, who in

[1] T. Cranmer's *Writings and Disputations*, appendix, p. 9.

[2] John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments of the Church*, London, 1583 ; pp. 1490 sq., 1518 sq., 1578 sq. and 1603 sq.

[3] P. F. Tytler, *England under the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary*, London, 1839 ; vol. ii, p. 153. Whether Horne's greatest sin in Northumberland's eyes was that he was not so willing to be plundered as that nobleman desired may be worth considering.

[4] T. Cranmer's *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters*, 280.

1552 recommended him as a fit person for an Irish Archbishopric.[1] Sydal was one of those who turned his coat at Mary's accession.

Neither Taverner nor Turner was ordained at the time when they were licensed to preach. The former was clerk of the signet under Henry VIII. and Edward VI., and was always a layman. Turner was a doctor of medicine, but was ordained some years later by Ridley.

So much for the men. In April 1547 Dr. Glasier[2] attacked the keeping of Lent by fasting; and another preacher who had denounced the non-observance of the same recanted,[3] by order, it was said, of the King and the Council. Other recantations followed. This sort of thing led naturally to disturbances, and a proclamation[4] was issued ordering preachers not to speak about religious matters otherwise than was done in the lifetime of Henry VIII. However, on 26 May, we find the Council, notwithstanding the inhibition, taking care that for the delivery of the three solemn sermons at Bristol[5] only those should be appointed to preach who were "of sincere doctrine in declaration of the Word of God."

The autobiography of Thomas Hancock,[6] who held Cranmer's licence to preach, is very instructive. In the latter part of 1547 we find him denouncing the doctrine of the real presence at Christ church, Hampshire,[7] "the priest being then at mass." On 31 January of the next year, he preached at St. Thomas, Sarum, inveighing "against the superstitious ceremonies as holy bread, holy water, images, copes, vestments, etc." Then

[1] *Ibid.*, 438.

[2] John Stowe, *Annales*, Londini, 1631; p. 594. John Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, London, 1816; vol. ii, pp. 38–9.

[3] *Correspondance politique de Odet de Selve, Ambassadeur de France en Angleterre*, 1546–1549, Commission des Archives diplomatiques, Paris, 1888; p. 134.

[4] *Odet de Selve*, 152. Compare Gardiner's letter of 6 June to Somerset (J. Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, London, 1583; p. 1346).

[5] *Acts of the Privy Council*, ij, 501.

[6] In *Narratives of the days of the Reformation*, Camden Society, 1859; pp. 71 sq.

[7] *Ibid.*, 72.

he denounced "the idol of the altar," calling every one who knelt at the sacring "most horrible idolaters," as he had done before at Christchurch. The mayor interfered[1] on the strength of the royal proclamation against irreverent speakers against the sacrament of the altar, and Hancock would have been imprisoned had he not found six men to be bound[2] for his appearance at the assizes. There he was bound in his own recognizances of £90, and in those of ten others of £10 each, "that he should not go before the king in his proceedings." Hancock immediately rode off to Sion where Somerset[3] then was, and got him to write to the Lord Chief Justice for the discharge of the bonds. Naturally after such countenance he went on preaching as before, with the result that, before 1548 was out, there was a riot. Again he applied to Somerset, and obtained another letter from him for his protection in preaching at Poole.[4] This story is highly important as showing how easily Somerset was approached by preachers of this kind, and how readily the authorities overlooked any "going before the king in his proceedings."

In 1546, the last year of Henry VIII., Hooper writes to Bullinger :—

> As far as the true religion is concerned, idolatry is nowhere in greater vigour. Our king has destroyed the pope, but not popery ; he has expelled all the monks and nuns and pulled down their monasteries ; he has caused all their possessions to be transferred into his exchequer, and yet they are bound, even the frail female sex, by the king's command, to perpetual chastity. England has at this time at least ten thousand nuns, not one of whom is allowed to marry. The impious mass, the most shameful celibacy of the clergy, the invocation of saints, auricular confession, superstitious abstinence from meats, and purgatory, were never before held by the people in greater esteem than at the present moment.[5]

[1] *Ibid.*, 73. [2] *Ibid.*, 75–6. [3] *Ibid.*, 76.
[4] *Ibid.*, 78–9. [5] *Original Letters*, i, 36.

On 7 July of the same year certain English books were called in for the purpose of destroying them, as they contained pernicious heresy.[1] Amongst them were the works of Wiclif, Coverdale, Turner and Tracy, and above all the New Testament according to Tindal's translation. It must also be remembered that, up to this time, no change of any importance had been made in the services of the Church, except the use of the procession in English.

With the accession of Somerset to supreme power all is changed. Copies of the books burned by Henry were now spread abroad over the country. The most important was Tindal's version of the New Testament, with marginal notes of a pronounced Zwinglian anti-sacramental character. Most of these were small editions, easily carried about.[2] Between 1525 and 1538 there were at least fifteen editions published, but no one had dared to bring out another for nine years. But in the first year of Edward VI. they begin to appear again, and in six years, from 1547 to 1553, no less than seventeen are known. The editions are all so scarce that few people have any idea of their contents. The teaching of the notes of these mischievous little volumes is solifidian, pointing out the worthlessness of works ; Zwinglian on the Sacraments, particularly the Eucharist ; Calvinian on the indefectibility of grace.

Besides the New Testaments, several editions of the Bible, with the heretical notes that had been prohibited by Henry, were published ; additional notes, and a table or alphabetical index being given. This index teaches that "this word mass is not in the Bible," that "the Supper of the Lord is a holy memory and giving of thanks for the death of Christ": Baptism and the bread and wine of his Holy Supper are declared to be "signs for to show and protest our faith before the Church," and it is

[1] D. Wilkins, *Concilia*, London, 1737 ; vol. iv, p. 1.

[2] The late Rev. Nicholas Pocock was the first to call attention to this feature of the protestant crusade.

emphatically declared in the notes on the 6th chapter of the Acts that SS. Paul and Barnabas "received not the Holy Ghost by this putting on of hands." For a more complete summary of the teaching of all these notes we must refer the reader to the late Mr. Dixon's *History of the Church of England*.[1]

The first authoritative ritual change of importance was the *Order of the Communion*, issued 8 March 1548 by royal proclamation.[2]

Miles Coverdale wrote to Calvin[3] from Frankfort on 26 March 1548, telling him that "there was brought thither three days since, during the time of the fair, a certain little book in English, containing that order of Holy Communion, which the King's Majesty has set forth as suitable to the present time." He goes on to say that he immediately translated it into German and Latin, the latter of which he was exceedingly anxious for Calvin to see. He feels sure that Calvin will welcome[4] it as a "cause for congratulation, and first fruits of godliness." The harvest proved that his estimate was correct. Straws show which way the wind is blowing, and there is one small point in which this document is more advanced than the Prayer-book of 1549. The rubric after the words accompanying the delivery of the Chalice in the *Order* contains this sentence :—

> And as the Priest ministereth the bread, so shall he for more expedition minister the wine.[5]

It would seem that the Council thought they had gone too fast, for in the Prayer-book the similar rubric runs :—

> And as the Priest ministereth the Sacrament of the body,

[1] Vol. iii, pp. 167–8–9.

[2] This has often been reprinted. See, for instance, *The Two Liturgies . . . of Edward VI.*, Parker Society, 1844 ; pp. 1 sq.

[3] *Original Letters*, 31. It is remarkable how quickly it was sent abroad. The earliest edition came out on 8 March $154\frac{7}{8}$.

[4] *Ibid.*, 32. [5] *The Two Liturgies*, 8.

> so shall he (for more expedition) minister the Sacrament of the blood.[1]

The only other doctrinal point that is noticeable is the persistent way that the *spiritual* character of the gift is announced. In other respects the *Order* is not so advanced as the Prayer-book, as it forbids "the varying of any other rite or ceremony in the Mass[2] until other order shall be provided," and in case the Chalice should fail, provides for the consecration of more wine.[3] At the same time the proclamation[4] that prefaces the *Order* was calculated to produce a feeling of uncertainty and unrest, when the hope was expressed that it may be so observed that the King and Council

> may be encouraged from time to time further to travail for the reformation and setting forth of such godly orders, as may be most to God's glory, the edifying of our subjects, and for the advancement of true religion. Which thing we (by the help of God) most earnestly intend to bring to effect.

This is confirmatory evidence that a series of changes was intended, and that the first book was not meant to be the final one.

The late Mr. Pocock has written a valuable paper[5] on the books which the Council allowed to be published and circulated from 1547 to 1549, with the object of preparing the minds of the people for change in religion. We have mentioned the numerous editions of Tindal's Testament and the Bible, with their Zwinglian and solifidian notes. There was a continual issue of pamphlets, some by the

[1] *Ibid.*, 92. [2] *Ibid.*, 4. [3] *Ibid.*, 8. [4] *Ibid.*, 2.

[5] *Church Quarterly Review*, 1893; vol. xxv, pp. 33 sq. The extracts that follow from these pamphlets have been taken from this paper, or from Mr. Pocock's MSS. notes made in preparing it. It may be as well to mention here that in his own copy he has made an important correction. From "This is very outspoken," p. 42, line 8 from foot, to "Ancient Chronicles" p. 43, line 7 from the top is out of place, belonging to "*The olde faith of great Brittaygne*," &c., and should be inserted before "The first part of this volume" on p. 50, line 15 from foot. See also Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, ed. cit., ii. 43 sq.

authors condemned in the proclamation of 1546, some by other writers. At first they do not seem imbued with any special form of protestantism beyond fierce denunciation of Rome, teaching of "justification by faith only," and that traditions and outward things are indifferent and may be omitted without sin, even though there be no harm in them. At this time Cranmer was still hoping to unite all the protestant factions into one compact body to oppose the forces of Rome. His tract *Of Unwritten Verities* appeared in 1547 or 1548. This seems to have been written to prepare the way for getting rid of images and ceremonial gently, letting such matters rest on royal authority, and insisting that Holy Scripture contains all things therein necessary to salvation.[1]

Richard Tracy's *A brief and short declaration, &c.*, was one of the books condemned in the previous reign. There were two pamphlets of his issued in this year. The *Brief declaration*, which is dated 10 November 1548, explains that the sacraments are only signs. "Christ is not received, which only by faith must be received through the hearing of his word declared." The general tone of the pamphlets of 1548 is solifidian, and on the sacraments Zwinglian rather than Lutheran, corresponding with what we know of the views of Cranmer at that period.

In either 1547 or 1548 (more likely the earlier year) Dr. William Turner, whose works had been prohibited by Henry VIII., published a book called *A new dialogue wherein is conteyned the Examination of the Masse, &c.*, which ridicules, with blasphemous levity, the mass and the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice.[2] The effect of such a work, coming from an inmate of the Protector's own house and his own body physician, on the men of advanced "New Learning" may be easily imagined. It was no wonder that folk said that Somerset not only encouraged, but introduced, these things. In 1540

[1] This is printed in full in T. Cranmer's *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters*, Parker Society, 1846; pp. 514 sq.

[2] See *Academy*, 1879; vol. xv, pp. 543 sq.

Turner brought out another book, a translation of Urbanus Regius, *The olde learnynye and the newe compared together*. The teaching is of the same tone as the rest of the books of this period.

There is one volume, however, which we will notice more at length, as it professedly deals with the changes in religion. The title is *The olde Fayth of greate Brittaygne and the newe learninge of Inglande. Whereunto is added a symple Instruction concernynge the Kinges maiesties procedinges in the cōmunion.* Compyled by R.V. Imprinted at London by Anthony Scoloker, dwelling in the Savoy rentes without Temple Barre. *Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.*[1] There was apparently more than one edition of this book, but neither is dated. Still, the time at which it was issued may be approximately gathered from a passage in the *Symple Instruction*, which states that the King's adversaries show that the Scriptures are against them "by their seeking of insurrections and in stirring the Scots and Frenchmen against the King's majesty"; which might refer to May 1548, or June 1549, at both of which times there was war with Scotland and war or preparations for war with France, with a rebellion in Cornwall and the West of England. The reference to Dr. Smith, who recanted at Paul's Cross on 15 May 1547, is hardly definite enough to fix the date more than approximately. "Wherefore," he says, "Doctor Smyth and all those which write or preach these *Unwritten Verities* to be received, &c." Smith changed back again, and challenged Martyr to a disputation at Oxford in May 1549. So that the probability is that this book belongs to the summer of 1549.

Its teaching on the Eucharist is quite clear, but hardly compatible with the strict grammatical interpretation of the Prayer-book of the same year:—

> This is also the mind of the ancient catholic Fathers, to

[1] The copy in the British Museum differs somewhat from that in Bodley. I quote from Mr. Pocock's transcript of the Bodleian copy.

> receive it as a memorial of His death, and not to eat it thinking or believing Him to be there really, as He was born of the Virgin Mary (Sig. B. ii.).

And on the last leaf we are told that

> the King's majesty with his honourable Council goeth about to overthrow the Pope's Mistress *Missa*, the successor of the Israelites' Nehustan.

Out of the numerous works brought out we have only space to refer to one more. Edmund Geste, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, published a tract[1] in 1548 and dedicated it to Sir John Cheke, the King's tutor, which is entitled *A treatise againste the previe Masse, &c.* He attacks the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, often in very violent language. He says :—

> Verily the consecration hereof is the direct and open abuse against the right institution and usage of the sacrament of the said body and blood. No more be the sacrificial bread and wine sacraments of Christ's body and blood notwithstanding the rehearsal of the consecration words over them (Sig. E. iij. b.).

Like Cranmer and the rest of them, he held that Christ, both God and Man, with his Father and the Holy Ghost, was present in the Sacrament of Baptism, in which, he says, they do as really eat his Body and drink his Blood as in the Supper.

> Howbeit no man worshippeth either his Body as present at Baptism there no less presented than at his supper, either else his Godhead, either for his own or for the presence of his said body (Sig. H. ii.).

It is an interesting fact that, in examining the books printed during this period, one finds that hardly a single book or pamphlet on the side of the "Old Learning" was published in England. Gardiner's and Tunstall's tracts,

[1] Thomas Raynald, London, 1548 ; British Museum (696, a. 21).

for instance, had to be printed abroad, or if in this country, at any rate secretly. But the numerous pamphlets attacking the mass and the old doctrine were openly printed, often by printers having the Council's licence. Moreover, had the Council chosen, at any moment they could have suppressed them : but they did not, and therefore must have welcomed them.

Towards the end of 1547 "there was much speaking against the Sacrament of the Altar," some calling it Round Robin, or Jack-in-the-Box and divers other shameful names.[1] The Council found it necessary to issue a proclamation[2] on 27 December to restrain the irreverence, or at any rate to appear to do so. But that they really were in earnest is hardly credible : not merely because they permitted the blasphemy to go on, both in the pulpit and in the press, but because in forming a weapon to wield against it, they took care to make it a mockery. Parliament met on the 4th November, 1547 : on the 17th December a Bill was passed condemning all who depraved, despised, or contemned the most blessed Sacrament, calling it "by such vile and unseemly words as Christian ears do abhor to hear rehearsed." Had they been in earnest, nothing would have been more natural than to make the Act come into force at once. But no : not until the "first day of May next coming" did the penalties become effective.[3] For nearly five months the ribalds were given a free tongue ; and for this procedure there is only one explanation, to wit, that the Council had no serious wish to stop the ribaldry.

Even in the proclamation, which public opinion compelled them to issue in December, they left a loophole for the spread of heresy :—

[1] *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London*, Camden Society, 1852 ; p. 55. J. Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, London, 1816 ; vol. ii, p. 129. M. Coverdale, *Writings and Translations*, Parker Society, 1844 ; p. 426.

[2] T. Cranmer's *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters*, 505. D. Wilkins, *Concilia*, iv, 18.

[3] I. Ed. VI. cap. 1, § i.

> Yet the King's highness mindeth not hereby to let or stop the ignorant and willing to learn, reverently or privately to demand of those whom he thinketh knoweth more, the further instruction and teaching in the said blessed sacrament ; so that the same be not done with contention, nor in open audience, with a company gathered together about them, nor with tumult : nor doth prohibit any man hereby likewise so quietly, devoutly, and reverently to teach or instruct the weak or unlearned, according to the more talent and learning given to him of God.[1]

In Lent, 1547, advantage was taken of the public preaching to sound a different tune from what had been heard during Henry's reign. Ridley preached on Ash Wednesday against images and ceremonies (specially holy water) before the Court.[2] Barlow, Bishop of St. David's, apparently preached on similar lines, judging from Gardiner's comments on this sermon to Somerset.[3] Fasting in Lent, as we have already seen, was another ancient practice[4] which the public preachers denounced at Paul's Cross. The French Ambassador, Odet de Selve, in reporting to his master one of these attacks on Lent by a preacher at St. Paul's, who had said that its observance was to be left to individual discretion,[5] adds "by commandment, as he said (*comme il disoyt*), of the King of England and of his Council." On the 23rd May 1547, he states that a preacher at St. Paul's (*en la grande église d'icy*) had spoken most irreverently of the Sacraments and of the Saints, and with the utmost possible licence of Lent :

> And immediately has been here printed this fine sermon

[1] T. Cranmer's *Miscellaneous Writings*, 506.

[2] J. Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, London, 1583 ; pp. 1342, 1348. Nicholas Ridley, *Works*, Parker Society, 1841 ; pp. 495 sq.

[3] J. Foxe, *ed. cit.*, 1342.

[4] See above and Gardiner's letter of 21 May in Foxe, *ed. cit.* 1344. The Council issued a Proclamation on 16 January, 154⅞ in favour of fasting, not because it was a Christian practice, *but for the furtherance of the fish trade* (Cranmer's *Miscellaneous Writings*, 507-8).

[5] *Correspondance politique de Odet de Selve*, Commission des Archives diplomatiques, Paris, 1888 ; p. 134.

> in English, and it is sold publicly in this city, even to the lords of this Court. Of the Protector, Sire, many think that not only does he favour such things, but that he introduces them. One thing, Sire, you can take for certain, that in a building that he is having made in this city they do not stop work either Sundays or feastdays, and still were at work there on last Ascension day itself.[1]

The war in Scotland, a rising in Ireland, and signs of great unrest in England cautioned the Council against going too fast. And later on the war with France acted in the same way. The Emperor, too, had made his displeasure at the innovations of Somerset known to the English Ambassador,[2] and it seems that, sooner than risk hostilities, a proclamation against the Sacrament was not promulgated, or at any rate withdrawn. We do not know what this was : perhaps it may have been one ordering the disuse of reservation, for as early[3] as the spring of 1548 "the Sacrament of the Altar" was "pulled down in divers places throughout the realm." Of the reality of the danger from the Emperor, the letter written 7 September 1549, to Somerset by Cardinal Pole contains the following testimony :—

> The cause of my offer was this, that I perceived your transactions, most especially in the affairs of the religion, to be very abominable in the sight of both God and man, and that therefore you were threatened with many dangers. These seemed to me so much the greater as I understood that at that very time, the Emperor gave a great rebuff to your ambassador, solely on account of your proceedings in religious matters, so that I was afraid his Majesty's words might be followed by corresponding deeds, as might be distinctly inferred from the recent example of Germany in the like cause [i.e. the rout of the Smalkaldic League at the

[1] *Odet de Selve*, 145.

[2] *Dodd's Church History of England*, W. M. A. Tierney, London, 1839 ; vol. ij, Appx. p. lxj. A letter written by Pole to the Emperor's confessor, 6 April 1547.

[3] *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, 55.

> battle of Mulberg, 22 April 1547]; and this might moreover come to pass very speedily, his Majesty being in such great force.[1]

A royal visitation, the authority of the bishops being meanwhile entirely suspended,[2] was next held. The visitors were instructed[3] to "forthwith take down, or cause to be taken down, and destroy" all such images as they knew "to be or to have been abused with pilgrimage or offering of any thing made thereunto, or shall be hereafter censed unto"; and to do the same by all pictures, paintings, and all other monuments of feigned miracles, etc., whether in walls, glass windows, or elsewhere within the churches or even in private houses.[4] They started on their work of destruction in August. On 27 September Selve writes to his master that

> this fury for destroying images which has obtained these days past is cooling, and some of the commissioners who had this duty have even been imprisoned: it having been imputed to them that they have exceeded their commission,[5] and that they were not commanded to remove any other images than those to which the people brought candles, and which were abused, as these new theologians say, and nevertheless they destroyed them all indifferently and with great derision: of which I believe that they had a very good and general commission, and that their execution of it would have passed if there had not been some contradiction: to obviate which I doubt not that they had reserved for themselves the refuge of this fine and subtle distinction and difference between the saints to whom candles are offered and those to whom they are not. But I am sure that if

[1] *Calendar of State Papers, Venice*, 1534-1544, Rolls Series, 1873; vol. v, p. 251.

[2] D. Wilkins, *Concilia*, iv, 14.

[3] D. Wilkins, *Concilia*, iv, 21. T. Cranmer's *Miscellaneous Letters and Writings*, 499.

[4] D. Wilkins *Concilia*, iv, 7. T. Cranmer's *Miscellaneous Letters and Writings*, 503.

[5] In the *Acts of the Privy Council*, Rolls Series, 1890; vol. ij, p. 535, is one such instance under date 17 December 1547. The offender received a punishment of a week's ward.

the Protector had a voice in chapter all would be very soon of a suit (*tost d'ugne livrée*).[1]

By February, $15\frac{47}{48}$, things had quieted down again, and on the 21st, the Council once more stretched out their hand against the images: and this time, for the avoidance of contention whether this or that image had been offered unto or otherwise abused, all images were banned without exception,[2] as Odet de Selve had foretold.

The players were allowed to go on until 6 August 1549, without any obvious check, when a proclamation[3] was set forth restraining them, for a few months only however, on the grounds that they stirred up sedition. After that they seemed to have been allowed free licence until the Marian proclamation[4] of 16 August 1553, "for the reformation of busy medlers in matters of religion, and for redress of printers, preachers, and players," the three prime arms of the protestant crusaders.[5] Gardiner complained of the unseemly character of this triple alliance in a letter to Somerset at the beginning of the reign, on which Foxe[6] commented: "He thwarteth and wrangleth much against players, printers, preachers, and we marvel why! For he seeth these three things to be set up of God, as a triple bulwark against the triple crown of the Pope to bring him down, as, God be praised, they have done meetly well already." It had been a feature of the protestant crusade in Henry VIII.'s reign too: patronized and instigated by no less a person than

[1] *Odet de Selve*, 210–1.

[2] D. Wilkins' *Concilia*, iv, 22. Cranmer's *Miscellaneous Writings*, 510.

[3] R. W. Dixon, *History of the Church of England*, 1885; vol. iii, p. 122. He has, I think, entirely mistaken the purport of the proclamation. It was the protestants who made the ribald plays, and fear of irritating the people still in rebellion and their passive sympathisers accounts for its issue.

[4] *Acts of the Privy Council*, Rolls Series, 1892; vol. iv, p. 426.

[5] See S. R. Maitland, *Essays on . . . the Reformation*, London, 1899; pp. 227–231. I cannot endorse Mr. Hutton's strange introduction to this edition.

[6] J. Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, London, 1583; p. 1343.

Thomas Cromwell himself, who numbered amongst his dependants "sundry and divers fresh and quick wits," by whose industry a vast number of profane blasphemies was spread in England.[1] Strype[2] tried to make out that the rimes, plays and jests on the Sacrament were chiefly occasioned by the misuse of it by the papists! As though that (even if true) were any justification.

The contempt for the Sacrament of the Altar which the Council fostered so carefully during the early years of Edward's reign[3] bore natural fruit as time went on. Folk who despised the Eucharist soon despised the Lord's Supper, and men were even hired to receive the Communion[4] in order to get the required number of communicants. "How many receive it with the curate or minister?" cried Latimer in 1552. If men were paid a testoon for every time they communicated, the churches would be overcrowded, he tells them. But unless there is money to be made the people would have nothing to do with it, so little do they care for salvation.

Let us now try to ascertain what ornaments, both of the church and of the ministers thereof, were in use in the third year of Edward VI. and afterwards, under the Prayer-book of 1549. And first of all, those explicitly ordered by the rubrics. At the end of the Book are *Certain Notes for the more plain explication and decent ministration of things contained in this book*.[5] The first two of these are what concern us now. They are :—

> In the saying or singing of Matins and Evensong, Baptizing and Burying, the minister, in parish churches and chapels annexed to the same, shall use a Surplice. And in all Cathedral churches and Colleges, the Archdeacons, Deans, Provosts, Masters, Prebendaries and Fellows, being graduates, may use in the quire, besides their Surplices, such hood as

[1] *Ibid.*, 1348. [2] *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, edit. cit., ii, 130.
[3] John Hooper, *Later Writings*, Parker Society, 1852; p. 146.
[4] Hugh Latimer, *Sermons*, Parker Society, 1844; p. 459.
[5] *The Two Liturgies . . . of Edward VI.*, Parker Society, 1844; p. 157.

pertaineth to their several degrees, which they have taken in any university within this realm. But in all other places every minister shall be at liberty to use any Surplice or no.

It is also seemly that graduates when they do preach shall use such hood as pertaineth to their several degrees.

And whensoever the Bishop shall celebrate the holy Communion in the church, or execute any other public ministration, he shall have upon him beside his rochette, a surplice or alb, and a cope or vestment, and also his pastoral staff in his hand, or else borne or holden by his chaplain.

For "The Supper of the Lord and Holy Communion," which together make up what is "commonly called the Mass" :—

> The priest that shall execute the holy ministry, shall put upon him the vesture appointed for that ministration, that is to say, a white alb plain, with a vestment or cope. And when there be many Priests or Deacons, then so many shall be ready to help the Priest, in the ministration, as shall be requisite : and shall have upon them likewise the vestures appointed for their ministry, that is to say, albs with tunicles.[1]

For *missa sicca* or dry mass said on other station-days (Wednesdays and Fridays) after the Litany, the priest is ordered[2] to wear "a plain alb or surplice, with a cope."

In the administration of Baptism the use of the white vesture,[3] commonly called the Chrisom, "was retained" : and ministers were directed[4] to "command that the Chrisoms be brought to the church and delivered to the Priests after the accustomed manner, at the purification of the mother of every child."

The ornaments of the church specifically mentioned are :—The Altar, or God's Board[5] ; the Corporas, upon

[1] *Two Liturgies*, 76. [2] *Ibid.*, 97.
[3] *Ibid.*, 112, 116. [4] *Ibid.*, 113.
[5] *Ibid.*, 77, 85, 87, 89, 91, 97, 130. God's Board is a common medieval term for the altar (T. S. Simmons, *Layfolk's Mass Book*, E.E.T.S., 1879 ; pp. 121, 233, 358, 382).

which the bread is laid[1]; the Paten, or some other comely thing prepared for the purpose of holding the bread[2]; the Chalice, or some fair or convenient cup[3]; the Font[4]; the Pulpit[5]; the Poor Man's box[6]; a bell to call the people together to church, on Ash Wednesday,[7] for the Litany and the Service now known as *the Commination*; and a Bible.[8]

The following ornaments are implicitly required by the rubrics:—A desk to hold a Bible[9]; a copy of the Book of Common Prayer[10]; a pix or box to hold the wafers (only one was needed now, as huselling breads and obleys were to be "after one sort and fashion")[11]; a cruet or flagon for the wine for the Communion, and another for "pure and clean water" used in making the Chalice[12]; an offering-dish or bason to receive the "due and accustomed offerings" paid to the Curate on the appointed offering days,[13] and "the just valour and price of the Holy Loaf (with all such money and other things as were wont to be offered with the same)," which was to be offered every Sunday[14]; a flask or chrismatory to hold the cream used for unction after Public Baptism[15]; another for holding the oil used in aneling the sick[16]; a pix and a vial (?) for holding the sacrament of the Body and Blood reserved for huselling the sick[17]; and a jug or vessel of some kind to hold water to fill the font once every month at least.[18]

Although one cannot be absolutely certain that the Eucharist was reserved in both species for the sick, such is eminently the more probable, both from the well-known opinions of the reformers concerning Communion in one kind only, and also from the phrase "sacrament of the Body and Blood"; where the consecrated Host

[1] *Two Liturgies*, 85. [2] *Ibid.*, 85. [3] *Ibid.*, 85.
[4] *Ibid.*, 110, 112. [5] *Ibid.*, 150. [6] *Ibid.*, 84.
[7] *Ibid.*, 150. [8] *Ibid.*, 19. [9] *Ibid.*, 22, 30, 36, 37.
[10] *Ibid.*, 19. [11] *Ibid.*, 85, 97. [12] *Ibid.*, 85.
[13] *Ibid.*, 14. [14] *Ibid.*, 98. [15] *Ibid.*, 112.
[16] *Ibid.*, 139. [17] *Ibid.*, 141, 143. [18] *Ibid.*, 118.

alone is meant, it is termed "the Sacrament of the Body" only.[1]

In preaching, all graduates of any English or Irish university were allowed and urged, though not commanded, to use such hoods as pertained to their several degrees. Apparently they might wear surplices too, if it so pleased them.[2]

At Matins and Evensong the cathedral clergy were allowed[3] to use their hoods in quire. Wherefore the day that the book came into force the canons and petty canons of St. Paul's left off their grey and calabur amesses, the former replacing them with hoods after the degrees or their universities, and the petty canons wearing tippets.[4] The hoods and tippets were left off too when they adopted the second book[5] on All Hallows day, 1552, as ordered[6] in the rubrics therein.

Cranmer took advantage of the seeming alternatives of the rubrics to demonstrate his advanced opinions. On the 21st July 1549, he appeared at St. Paul's Cathedral Church unexpectedly, and after denouncing the rebels, did the office himself in a cope instead of a chasuble, without a mitre or cross, but with his crozier borne before him; two priests of St. Paul's assisting as deacon and subdeacon in albs and tunicles, and the Dean of St. Paul's, Dr. May, following him in his surplice. There at the high altar he did all the office, wearing his satin cap on his head all the time of the office.[7] There was no lack of chasubles (and mitres too) at St. Paul's, and so far as convenience is concerned, the chasuble is infinitely more suitable than a cope[8]; the rubric allows the use of either,

[1] *Ibid.*, 99. [2] *Ibid.*, 157. [3] *Ibid.*, 157.

[4] Charles Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England*, Camden Society, 1877; vol. ii, p. 14. *Chronicle of the Grey Friars*, Camden Society, 1852; p. 59.

[5] Wriothesley, ii, 78. *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, 76.

[6] *Two Liturgies*, 217.

[7] Wriothesley, ii, 16, 17. *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, 60.

[8] The cope was apparently used in saying the Latin mass on some occasions. Sir Thomas More says:—"They care not as Tyndall sayth after, whyther the prieste saye Masse in his gowne or in hys cope" (*Workes*, London,

being very loosely worded ; no doubt with intention, as Cranmer at this time was a Zwinglian on his own showing and had been so for many months. His example was followed by the Lord Mayor's chaplain on the following Michaelmas, on which day the Lord Mayor of London used to be elected after the Council had heard mass of the Holy Ghost in the Guildhall chapel.[1] What mass was sung in 1549 we are not told, but it was "in English, according to the king's book ; my lord Mayor's chaplain executing at the altar, and ministering the communion in a cope, with certain of the parish clerks which sung the service in the quire, which was a goodly ensample for all the citizens to follow."[1]

It has been stated, on Strype's authority, that Cranmer wore a mitre and cope at the consecration of Poinet, on 29 June 1550. But there is nothing whatever about a mitre in the original Latin which Strype gives,[2] and it is highly improbable that Cranmer should have worn one.

We now come to the garments ordered for the priest and his assistants. First, "a white alb plain." The alb is to be *white* : coloured albs were known, if not in England, certainly on the continent.[3] It is to be *plain*. The term is most unusual when applied to albs. A surplice[4] was *plain*, as opposed to *full* or *ruffled* : and we read of *plain* altar cloths, as contrasted with those made of diapered

1557 ; fol. 365, col. ij, H.). Matching records that a priest was taken saying mass in Fetter Lane in a cope on 8 September 1562 (*Machyn's Diary*, 292). And Thomas Cartwright says incidentally 'For seing it is manifest that Popishe Priestes received ther orders | by the puttinge on off a surplice and square cappe | and that they vsed the coope euen to the singinge off masse (*A full and plaine declaration of Ecclesiasticull Discipline owt off the word of God*, 1574 ; p. 131).

[1] Wriothesley, ii, 23.

[2] J. Strype, *Memorials of . . . Thomas Cranmer*, London, 1853 ; vol. i, p. 365. Strype's "translation" makes one stare in astonishment.

[3] See *Transactions of St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, 1900 ; vol. iv, p. 157, Note 4.

[4] E.g. *Archæologia*, 1885 ; xxxvi, 222: 1887 ; l. 481. J. Nicholls, *Illustrations of the manners and expences of ancient times*, London, 1797 ; p. 117. T. Perry, *Lawful Church Ornaments*, London, 1857 ; p. 75. *Journal of British Arch. Assoc.*, 1868 ; xxiv, 268.

cloth.[1] A plain alb would seem to mean one of plain linen cloth, as opposed to one made of silk or velvet,[2] which was very frequently the case in the middle ages.

What are we to understand by the term "a vestment"? there are three separate meanings which we find, two of which are common. It may mean a complete suit, including sometimes the altar hangings, as well as vestments for the inferior ministers. For example :—

> Item, a red vestment, embroidered with lions of gold, of red satin ; *that is to say*, a chasuble and a tunicle to the same, with two albs, two amices, two stoles, two fanons, and two girdles lately mended, and a cope thereto powdered with lions, *St. Mary at Hill, London*, 1486.[3]
>
> Item, unum vestimentum rubeum de velveto, texto cum imaginibus pondralis cum perlis ; *viz.*, cum una casula, duabus tunicis, tribus albis, tribus amictibus, cum stolis et fanonibus pertinentibus eidem, cum una bona capa eiusdem secta, et duabus aliis capis quasi eiusdem operis sed sine perlis, cum altari de eadem secta, et ridellio de sindone rubea. *St. George's College, Windsor*, 8 *Ric. II.*[4]
>
> A vestment for a priest, deacon and subdeacon, or cloth of gold with orphreys and backs of needlework with albs and all things to them belonging. *St. Martin Outwich, London*, 1550.[5]

Again, it may signify a chasuble with its stole, fanon, alb and apparels. For example :—

> Item six vestments, with their albs and all other things pertaining thereto. *Wing, Bucks*, 1527.[6]

[1] *Transactions of St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, 1900 ; vol. iv, p. 149.

[2] Hittorp, *De Divinis Cath. Eccl. Officiis*, Colonia, 1568 ; pp. 56, 68. J. Wickham Legg and W. H. St. John Hope, *Inventories of Christchurch, Canterbury*, Westminister, 1902 ; pp. 58, 59, 188. *Archæologia*, 1890 ; lii, 241.

[3] J. Nichols, *Illustrations . . . of antient times*, London, 1797 ; p. 113.

[4] W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, Ed. Caley, Bandinel and Ellis, London, 1817–30 ; vol. vi, pt. iii, p. 1363. See also Legg and Hope's *Canterbury Inventories*, 62–9.

[5] Perry, *Lawful Church Ornaments*, 98.

[6] *Archæologia*, 1855 ; xxxvi.

A vestment of purple velvet, with the alb and all thereto belonging. *St. Christopher le Stocks, London*, 1488.[1]

Item ij vestments with albs. Item ij without albs. *Healaugh, Yorkshire*, 1549.[2]

This meaning is very common ; but frequently it means the chasuble, fanon, and stole, without the alb.

Item i vestment of blue bawdkyn and red, with lilies, and a corporas of the same, lacking stole and fanon, price 20*s*. *St. Peter Cheap, London*, 1431.[3]

Item a vestment, deacon and subdeacon or old black worsted with iij copes of the same (2 more similar items). *Boston, Lincolnshire*, 6 *Ed. VI.*[4]

Much less frequently the word vestment is used to denote tunicles and copes, as for instance in the big York Inventory of the early sixteenth century. There we have under the heading *Vestimenta alba*, besides several *sectae* or suits, *una casula de albo baudkino absque albis, quatuor tunicae cum* [*? pro*] *thuribulariis et choristis*, and *duae dalmaticae* for the archbishop ; and similarly under the red, blue and green groups.[5] So at Windsor under the general heading *Vestimenta* are enumerated two tunicles.[6]

The use of folded chasubles for the deacon and subdeacon in Advent and Lent is probably not allowed by the rubric. And before this in actual practice the custom had largely become obsolete, save in some of the larger churches, such as cathedrals, and in royal chapels.

Bishops wore the rochet as part of their ordinary dress ; hence the surplice or alb was put on over it.

The most important object in the parish churches was the pix, containing the Eucharist reserved for the sick,

[1] *Archæologia*, 1877 ; xlv. 113.
[2] E. Peacock, *English Church Furniture*, London, 1866 ; p. 243. Cnf. 246.
[3] *Journal of British Archæological Association*, 1868 ; xxiv, 156.
[4] *Ibid.*, 220. And see Legg and Hope, *Canterbury Inventories*, 186–7–8.
[5] W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, VI, iii, 1209.
[6] *Ibid.*, 1363.

which was suspended over the high altar. As early as Easter 1547, there began to be many cases of the pix being pulled down throughout England.[1] Strype[2] admits that this pulling down of pixes was "without any warrant." At Faversham the mayor made away with the pix, which was of silver; but the Privy Council on the 8th of November compelled him to deliver it up again to the churchwardens.[3]

Not till the 20th October of the next year "was taken away the cup with the Body of Christ from the high altar[4] of St. Mary's [Cathedral] Church [at Worcester], and in other churches and chapels." At St. Paul's Cathedral Church, London, it hung until the second Sunday in Lent, 1549, when the dean, Dr. William May, commanded it to be pulled down.[5]

With the advent of the Prayer-book on Whitsunday 1549, the custom of hanging the reserved Sacrament over the high altar seems to have been given up. But there is no trace of any order by either bishop or Council requiring it to be done, except in the autobiography of Edward Underhill when we read :—

> At Stratford on the Bow I took the pix off the altar being of copper . . . . There was a commandment it should not hang on a string over the altar, and then they set it upon the altar.[6]

The date of this is not certain, but it appears to be about 1551 or 1552. It was illegal according to the royal proclamation[7] to innovate, alter, or leave undone any rite or ceremony, save those forbidden by the

[1] *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, 55.
[2] *Memorials of . . . Thomas Cranmer*, London, 1853; i, 233.
[3] *Acts of the Privy Council*, ii, 520.
[4] Valentine Green, *History and Antiquities of . . . Worcester*, London, 1796; vol. i, p. 127 (misprinted 721).
[5] *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, 58.
[6] *Narratives of the Days of the Reformation*, Camden Society, 1859; p. 160.
[7] D. Wilkins, *Concilia*, iv, 21. T. Cranmer, *Miscellaneous Writings*, 508.

Council. But the west-country insurgents demanded its restoration[1]; and I do not remember any evidence that the custom was revived before the accession of Mary.

The injunctions of 1547 ordered the two lights upon the high altar still to remain.[2] No order to remove them came from any one until 1550, when on 19 April, a week after his enthronement, Ridley commanded the light of the altar to be put out before he came into the quire,[3] a prohibition which he enforced so far as he could throughout his diocese in his visitation the following month.[4] At the same time we must remember that the intention before the Prayer-book was published was to gradually abolish all the old ceremonies. The usual plan was first to make things optional, and then, when laxity had had time to operate, to step in and forbid the things. In the present case we have the direct statement of Butzer, writing from Lambeth Palace, to the ministers at Strassburg on 26 April 1549. Speaking of the as yet unpublished Prayer-book, he says :—

> We hear that some concessions have been made both to a respect for antiquity, and to the infirmity of the present age ; such, for instance, as the vestments commonly used in the sacrament of the Eucharist, and the use of candles ; so also in regard to the commemoration of the dead and the use of chrism ; for we know not to what extent or in what sort it prevails. They affirm that there is no superstition in these things, and that they are only to be retained for a time, lest the people, not yet having learned Christ,

[1] Their fourth article. Cranmer, *op. cit.*, 172.

[2] D. Wilkins, *Concilia*, iv, 2. Cranmer, *op. cit.*, 499. This does not refer to the light before the reserved Eucharist : a comparison with Cranmer's diocesan articles (*op. cit.*, 155 ; Wilkins, iv, 23) shows how he interpreted it. Note that they continue what was there before ; and the light before the Sacrament was rarely more than one lamp, which hung before and did not stand upon, the high altar. The phrase " before the Sacrament " probably owes its presence merely to careless drafting, Cromwell's injunctions having been taken as the basis of Edward's.

[3] *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, 66.

[4] D. Wilkins, *Concilia*, iv, 32. N. Ridley, *Works*, Parker Society, 1841; p. 319.

> should be deterred by too extensive innovations from embracing his religion, and that rather they may be won over.[1]

Francis Dryander had written[2] on 25 March 1549, to Bullinger, that "some puerilities had been suffered to remain, lest the people should be offended by too great an innovation. These, however, trifling as they are, may shortly be amended." This was only what he had heard, and he was not certain about it at the time of writing. Butzer's letter, written later, shows that his information was trustworthy.

The care with which Bullinger was regularly informed of everything going on in England that concerned religious affairs is very remarkable. Another letter written to him gives us additional testimony to the fact that the Zwinglian party were quite aware that the Prayer-book was only a makeshift until something, more to their liking, could be safely introduced by their leaders. Richard Hilles wrote to Bullinger, thanking him for two Decades of his sermons, from London on 4 June 1549, and telling him how Bartholomew Traheron had done all he could in the last Parliament to ensure "that there should be no ambiguity in the reformation of the Lord's Supper; but it was not in his power to bring over his old fellow citizens to his [Zwinglian-calvinistic] views." Hilles goes on to say that

> We have an uniform celebration of the Eucharist throughout the whole kingdom, but after the manner of the Nuremberg churches and some of those in Saxony; for they do not yet feel inclined to adopt your rites respecting the administration of the sacraments . . . . Thus our bishops and governors seem, for the present at least, to be acting very rightly: while for the preservation of the public peace, they afford no cause of offence to the Lutherans, pay attention to your very learned German divines, submit

[1] *Original Letters*, ii, 535–6.
[2] *Ibid.*, i, 350.

> their judgment to them, and also retain some popish ceremonies.[1]

This passage is also an interesting testimony to that subservience of the English reformers to their foreign brethren, which we so constantly encounter. Another thing that impresses every student of the letters and writings of the reformers, whether English or foreign, is the unanimity with which they are convinced that their causes are identical, and that the end towards which they are striving is one and the same. One finds this from the beginning of Somerset's accession to power right on to Mary's reign. Differences manifested themselves among the exiles during the reign of Mary, but their importance has been exaggerated : nor do they concern the history of the first Edwardian Prayer-book.

One of the first results of the first Act of Uniformity was to produce divergence of rites and ceremonies. In a good many churches the service was gradually made as like that of Zürich or Geneva as the curate dared, and in the others, probably the majority, as catholic as could be. Consequently some folk used to "refuse their own parish, and frequent and haunt other, whereas the Communion is more like a mass[2] than in his own" : but we do not hear complaints that parishioners left these latter churches, and frequented and haunted those churches where the Communion was not at all like the mass.

The divergence is marked when we come to festivals. The 20th June, eleven days after the Prayer-book came into force, was Corpus Christi[3] day ; "and that day in divers places in London was kept holy day, and many kept none but did work openly ; and in some churches service and some none, such was the division." Similarly[4] on the Assumption, "some kept holy day, and some none, as St. Stephen's in Walbrook and Cole Church. Such

[1] *Original Letters*, i, 266.
[2] J. Hooper, *Later Writings*, 141.
[3] *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, 59.
[4] *Ibid.*, 62.

was the division that day." The following year this division was still more marked, and the Nativity of our Lady was treated in like manner.[1]

When the west-country rebels sent in their demands to the government several answers were made in reply to them. That put into the mouth of the King was conciliatory and contains the following interesting passage, toning down all differences between the old and the new service :—

> For the mass, I assure you, no small study nor travail hath been spent by all the learned clergy thereon, and to avoid all contention it is brought even to the very use as Christ left it, as the apostles used it, as the holy Fathers delivered it.[2]

It also affirms that the new service was composed "through the aid of the Holy Ghost." Foxe's comment on the reception of the new service is—

> We have to note not so much the careful diligence of the King and his learned Council as the lingering slackness and drawing back on the other side, of divers the said justices and lawyers, but specially of bishops and old popish curates, by whose cloked contempt, wilful winking and stubborn disobedience the book of Common Prayer was long after the publishing thereof either not known at all, or else very irreverently used, throughout many places of this realm.[3]

What Foxe meant by irreverent usage may easily be understood. It is not what we should nowadays describe in such terms. And it will be as well to point out here that all the evidence that is at our disposal shows that in most churches the change from the Latin to the English service did not, to any appreciable extent, affect the externals of worship. Nor is this surprising, nor anything but what

[1] *Ibid.*, 67.

[2] John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, London, 1583 ; p. 1306. *Grafton's Chronicle*, London, 1809 ; vol. ii, p. 517.

[3] Foxe, *op. cit.*, 1303.

we should conjecture from an examination of the book itself. For almost the first thing that strikes us is that it was very inadequately equipped with rubrics. Without a knowledge of the old ceremonial the services could not be properly performed, and even a certain ritual knowledge was needful. For instance, the proper preface for the feast of the Trinity[1] in the first Edwardian book ends "whom the angels, etc." Now unless he remembered the conclusion of the Sarum[2] preface "quam laudant Angeli atque Archangeli, Cherubin quoque ac Seraphin, qui non cessant clamare, una voce dicentes," the priest could not continue. The endings to the collects are set out just as casually.

And that the old ceremonial was continued is as certain as anything in history. Even Somerset could hardly have had the effrontery to write, on 6 June 1549, to Cardinal Pole, sending him[3] a copy of the Prayer-book "for his judgement thereupon"; and concluding: "we are not in much fear but that it may be well if ye did see things here with your own eyes . . . ye would peradventure condescend yourself and be in all points satisfied, as at this present many both of bishops and other learned men be, which at the first did much repine," if there had been many changes[4]: at least, not if he was at all sincere in his invitation to Pole, and genuine in his hope that he would accept it. He had said in an earlier part of the letter[5] that the book "was published and divulged to as great a quiet as ever was in England, and as gladly received of all parties." This statement agrees with the letter written by Francis Dryander to Bullinger[6] on the 5th of the same month, and may have been honestly believed. The rebellions on account of it were a little

[1] *Two Liturgies*, 86.
[2] *Missale . . . Sarum*, Burntisland, 1861–1883; col. 604.
[3] *Troubles connected with the Prayer-book of* 1549, Camden Society, 1884; p. xiii.
[4] *Ibid.*, xiv.
[5] *Ibid.*, x.
[6] *Original Letters*, i, 350.

later, and news travelled comparatively slowly in those days.

The Zwinglian John Hooper, writing from London 27 December 1549, to Bullinger, gives a description of the services as then conducted, which is of great interest.

> The altars are here in many churches changed to tables. The public celebration of the Lord's Supper is very far from the order and institution of the Lord. Although it is administered in both kinds, yet in some places the Supper is celebrated three times a day. Where they used heretofore to celebrate in the morning the *mass* of the Apostles, they now have the *communion* of the Apostles; when they had *mass* of the blessed Virgin, they now have the communion which they call the *communion* of the Virgin; when they had the *high mass* (*altam vel summam missam*) they now have as they call it, the *high communion*. They still retain their vestments and altar-lights (*lumina ad altaria*).[1] In the churches they always chant the Hours, and other hymns pertaining to the [Lord's] Supper, but in our own language. And that popery may not be lost, the mass-priests, although they are compelled to discontinue the use of the Latin language, yet most carefully observe the same tone and manner of chanting (*musicam*) to which they were heretofore accustomed in the papacy.[2]

John Butler, writing to Thomas Blaurer on 16 February 1550, says—

> Baptism and the Lord's Supper are celebrated with sufficient propriety, only that some blemishes in respect to certain ceremonies—such, for instance, as the splendour of the vestments—have not yet been done away with. The psalms, hymns, and collects, in fine whatever is done in the churches, is said and sung in our own language.[3]

[1] *E.g.* 1550: Item to Johan Troyt, for 2 tapers weighing 3 lbs. for the first mass, 2*s.* (*Churchwardens' Accounts of the town of Ludlow*, Camden Society, 1869; p. 43). 1 August, 6 Ed. VI., two latten candlesticks on the high altar (*Visitation of Churches belonging to St. Paul's Cathedral*, Camden Society, 1895; p. 116).

[2] *Epistolæ Tigurinæ*, Parker Society, 1848; p. 46. *Original Letters*, i, 72.

[3] *Original Letters*, ii, 635.

Further light is thrown by a letter to Hooper written by Butzer from Cambridge about the middle of November, 1550. It is a wail over the neglect of those in charge of the parishes, and abuse of vestments.

> There is such a paucity of Evangelists, that you may find very many churches where no sound sermon has been heard for five, six or more years. The divine services are all recited by many pseudo-parish priests or vicars, so frigidly, slovenly and mumblingly, that they are understood by the common people just as well as if they had been read in a Punic or Indian dialect. Baptisms are performed in the presence only of a very few girls, generally at play. While a blessing is being asked on the marriage vow, there is gossiping and playing. In many places the Lord's Supper so takes the place of the mass that the people do not know in what respect it differs from it, except that it is celebrated in the vulgar tongue.[1]

Although Ridley was at the time holding the post of Bishop of London, yet the old ceremonial still obtained, for information was given to the Privy Council that the Communion[2] at St. Paul's Cathedral Church "was used as a very mass." Whereupon the Council on 11 October 1550, sent "a letter to Thomas Asteley to join with two or three honest gentlemen in London for the observation of the usage of the Communion in Pauls."

Before quoting any further writers, it will be as well to recall to the reader's mind the third of *Certain Notes for the more plain explication and decent ministration of things contained in this Book*, which appears at the end of the Prayer-book of 1549. It runs as follows :—

> As touching kneeling, crossing, holding up of hands, knocking upon the breast and other gestures, they may be used or left, as every man's devotion serveth, without blame.[3]

[1] Gorham's *Gleanings*, 201. Cnf. *Original Letters*, 464, 467.
[2] *Acts of the Privy Council*, Rolls Series, 1891 ; iii, 138.
[3] *Two Liturgies*, 157.

This certainly gives permission to use these gestures. And, *pace* Dr. Benson in his "Lincoln Judgment," the leave concerns priests rather than lay folk. Butzer called them the gestures of the never-to-be-sufficiently-execrated mass.

The fullest general account of the ceremonial in use under the book of 1549 is to be found in Martin Butzer's *Scripta Anglicana*, which contains his *Censura* and book *De Regno Christi*. There he says that some priests incline themselves to the bread and wine and breathe on them as they say the prayers, as if the words ought to be addressed to the bread and wine and not to the people present, or as if by pronouncing those words they could effect some change in the elements.[1] So very many distorted rubrics into most grave insults to Christ, who forsooth genuflect, make the sign of the cross in the air, hold up their hands, knock upon their breast, and use other gestures of the never-to-be-sufficiently-execrated Mass in the administration of the Holy Supper.[2] They make a studied representation of the never-to-be-sufficiently execrated Mass so far as they possibly can, both by the vestments, lights, and bowings, by crosses, washing the chalice, and other gestures of the Mass books; by breathing on the bread and chalice of the Eucharist, transferring the book on the table from the right to the left part of the table, setting the table in the same place where the altar used to stand: by showing the bread and chalice of the Eucharist to be adored by little-old-men and other superstitious folk, who nevertheless do not communicate with the sacraments.[3]

Some turn the prescribed form of holy things entirely into a Papistical abuse: as when the priestlings (*sacrificuli*) recite the holy things of Christ (although they be in the vernacular) so indistinctly and confusedly, that they cannot be understood, and withdraw those things altogether

[1] Martin Butzer, *Scripta Anglicana*, Basileae, 1577; p. 472.
[2] *Ibid.*, 465.
[3] *Ibid.*, 493.

from the understanding and hearing of the people. And not a few of the priestlings set forth the Holy Communion of Christ as if it were the Papistical Mass, nor are the people present with any other intention (than of assisting at the same). Whence in a great number of places they celebrate three *communions* in one day as they formerly did masses, *e.g.* of St. Nicholas, St. Mary, or other Saints: nor does any one receive the sacrament from the Lord's table, except one priestling or a churchwarden, and he unwillingly.[1]

Even in places where they had adopted the second book, at the end of Edward's reign, it seems that some old practices were retained. "Now in cathedral churches they utter their lessons in plainsong." This statement of the *Brief Discourse of the troubles begun at Frankfort*[2] must be taken with reserve, for in describing the preface, etc., the writer of this book[3] says: "and so endeth with *Holy, holy, holy, Lord God*, till he come to *Hosanna in the highest*." But these words do not occur in the second book.

The royal injunctions[4] of 1549, together with Ridley's[5] and Hooper's[6] visitation articles which were founded on them, also give considerable information. It seems that the Catholic-minded clergy took advantage of all the Catholic-worded articles and injunctions and read publicly "such injunctions as extolleth and setteth forth the popish mass,[7] candles,[8] images,[9] chauntries."[10] Certain

[1] *Ibid.*, *De regno Christi*, Lib. II, cap. v; p. 60.
[2] p. xxix. [3] p. xxxi.
[4] G. Burnet, *History of the Reformation*, Ed. N. Pocock, Oxford, 1865; vol. v, p. 243.
[5] N. Ridley, *Works*, Parker Society, 1841; p. 319.
[6] J. Hooper, *Later Writings*, Parker Society, 1852; pp. 127 sq.
[7] Perhaps the proclamation against innovations (Wilkins, *Concilia*, iv, 21).
[8] Either Cromwell's (Pocock's *Burnet*, iv, 343), or that of Edward for the two lights on the high altar already mentioned.
[9] Burnet, *ed. cit.*, iv, 343.
[10] Articles to be enquired of in the royal visitation of 1547 (Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, London 1816; vol. ii, p. 84.

ceremonies observed by ministers are condemned in particular, as "counterfeiting the popish mass": these were, kissing (Hooper has "blessing") the Lord's board:[1] washing his hands or fingers after the Gospel[2] or the receipt of the holy communion;[3] shifting the book from one place to another;[4] laying down and licking the chalice after the communion;[5] blessing his eyes with the sudary thereof or paten, or crossing his head[6] with the same; holding his forefingers and thumbs joined together towards the temples of his head, after the receiving of the[7] sacrament; breathing on the bread,[8] or chalice; saying the *Agnus Dei* before the communion;[9] showing the sacrament openly before the distribution or making any elevation[10] thereof; ringing of the sacring[11] bell; and setting any light[12] upon God's board.

Ministers were forbidden to "maintain" purgatory, invocation of saints, the six articles, bede-rolls, images, relics, rubrics, primers, justification of man by his own

[1] Kissing and blessing refer to the same thing; the priest made the sign of the cross on the altar before he kissed it (*Missale Sarum*, Ed. Burntisland, 581, 595, 613, 618, 624. T. Becon, *Prayers and other pieces*, Parker Society, 1844; pp. 263, 265, 276).

[2] *Missale Sarum*, 594. Becon, *op. cit.*, 265. The washing usually came after the Gospel, because the mass creed was more frequently omitted than said. See *Missale Sarum*, 15, for the days.

[3] *Missale Sarum*, 628. Becon, *op. cit.*, 282.

[4] *Missale Sarum*, 589. *Lay Folk's Mass Book*, 16, 54. Becon, *op. cit.*, 264, 282.

[5] *Missale Sarum*, 628. Becon, *op. cit.*, 282.

[6] *Missale Sarum*, 621–2. Becon, *op. cit.*, 277–8. *Missale Herfordense*, Ed. Henderson, 132. I do not find any allusion to the use of a sudary in this connexion elsewhere.

[7] *Missale Sarum*, 627.

[8] See p. 26 of this volume for some account of this ceremony.

[9] This was however quite in accordance with the rubrics. *Agnus Dei* was appointed for the Clerks to sing "in the Communion time" (*Two Liturgies* 92) and when there were no clerks the priest had to say all things appointed for them to sing (*Ibid.*, 95). But he had something else to say at communion time, and so could only say it before or after. The cavilling protestants merely forbad it because it occurs in that place in the old English rites.

[10] This was definitely forbidden by the rubric (*Two Liturgies*, 89).

[11] *Lay Folk's Mass Book*, 38. Becon, *op. cit.*, 266. Hooper's *Later Writings*, 148, xxvi.

[12] Specially continued by the Injunctions of 1547.

works ; holy bread, palms, ashes, candles,[1] the Easter sepulchre,[2] the pascall,[3] creeping to the cross on Good Friday,[4] hallowing of the fire on Easter Even,[5] or of altars, or any suchlike abuses and superstitions now taken away by the king's grace's most godly proceedings. How far this "maintaining" went it is difficult to ascertain : but obviously the maintaining of such sacramentals and rites as holy bread, etc., must have been practical, *i.e.* by blessing and distributing the holy bread, palms, ashes and candles and so forth. They were not *forbidden* by the rubrics of the Prayer-book, though Ridley, Hooper, and others enquired after their use with a view to putting them down : but certainly the order to erect and set up the Lord's board after the form of an honest table and abolish all altars was a direct violation of the rubrics[6] (and Act of Parliament) which order the priest to stand "afore the midst of the *altar*," to set "the bread and wine upon the *altar*," to turn "him to the *altar*," and to say the dry Mass on Wednesdays and Fridays "at the *altar*." Equally uncalled for was Hooper's[7] order to remove all roodlofts, all altar-steps, chapels, and screens, so as to render the church as much like a meeting house and as little like a place of Christian worship as possible.

The clergy whose altars were thus transmuted into tables were nevertheless equal to the occasion, and Hooper[8]

[1] In London and Worcester these were left off in 1547 (J. Stowe, *Annales*, Londini, 1631 ; p. 595. V. Green, *History and Antiquities of Worcester*, London, 1796 ; i, 127).

[2] The light before the sepulchre was specially retained by Cromwell's injunctions, and was never forbidden by an authority at any time.

[3] I cannot find that any authority prohibited this.

[4] Perhaps this might, by a stretch of imagination, be included under the head of images prohibited because abused.

[5] This was not forbidden by any authority.

[6] *Two Liturgies of Edward VI.*, 77, 85, 87, 89, 97. If the altar, name and thing were abolished, these rubrics enforced by the first act of Uniformity could in no wise be obeyed.

[7] J. Hooper, *Later Writings*, 135.

[8] *Ibid.*, 142, § xxiii. They did the same in the early years of Elizabeth (Ritual Commission *2nd Rep.* Appx., 401).

soon found that "the table for the Communion" was "decked and apparelled behind and before, as the altars were wont to be decked": that is to say, they hung a nether-front before, and an overfront, reredos, or dossal behind it. The wooden table was set in the same position as the altar, and so far as outward appearance was concerned there was no difference between the new table and the old altar. But of course this was not what Ridley, Hooper and their friends desired. Their attack upon altars was merely the expression of their disbelief in the Christian teaching on the Eucharist.[1] In their eyes Christ was as much present in the sacrament of Baptism as in the Eucharist, and the elements merely attested the favour of God previously granted.

Ridley was the prime mover in the destruction of altars. While he held the see of Rochester he had commended himself to the extremists[2] by his conduct in this way, and Hooper's hopes that he would do the same on his appointment to London were speedily realized. Even before his arrival[3] it would seem that some altars had been pulled down in London. He caused the high altar of St. Paul's to be destroyed[4] on the night of 11 June 1550: and on the 15th of that month Sir John Gates, the sheriff of Essex, was sent down with letters to enforce the bishop's injunctions[5] touching the plucking down of altars, etc. Five weeks later the Council[6] ordered every altar in the town and College of Windsor to be destroyed. But it was not until 24 November 1550 that they sent a final injunction to abolish the remaining altars.[7]

It must not be supposed that Dr. Day and the others

[1] Ridley's *Works*, 322.
[2] *Original Letters*, i, 79.
[3] So Hooper wrote 27 March 1550 (*Original Letters*, i, 79). Ridley was appointed 1 April; enthroned 12 April (*Grey Friars' Chronicle*, 66).
[4] *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, 67.
[5] *Edward's Journal* in Pocock's *Burnet*, v, 22.
[6] *Acts of the Privy Council*, iii, 92 (22 July 1550).
[7] Cranmer's *Miscellaneous Writings*, 524.

were fighting for shadows in this question of the altars. Both sides knew exactly what was at stake : that the doctrine was the real object of attack. Day's statements before the Privy Council,[1] and his letter to Cecil of 10 January 1550, make this quite clear. His words to Cecil are :—

> I sticked not at the alteration, either of the matter (as stone or wood) whereof the altar was made, but I then took, as I now take, those things to be indifferent, and to be ordered by them that have authority. But the commandment, which was given to me to take down all altars within my diocese, and in the lieu of them to set up a table, implying in itself (as I take it) a plain abolishment of the altar (both the name and the thing) from the use and ministration of the Holy Communion, I could not with my conscience then execute.[2]

Somerset had his way; the altars were plucked down, and Day went to prison.

Hooper's interrogatories show that the clergy used[3] to hold up their fingers, wash their fingers, kiss their vestments, books, chalice, corporas and other things on the altar, "as they did in their mass." They used to say the Lord's Prayer[4] at the beginning of the service "with a small and still voice, and the psalms with a loud voice." During the psalms they used to sit, kneeling at *Kyrie eleison*, and standing up for *Magnificat*, *Te Deum*, and *Benedictus*.[5] On offering days they allowed the people who came up to offer to kiss their vestments, or the chalice, or paten, or some other thing.[6] They took advantage of the rubric which ordered them to divide each of the

[1] *Acts of the Privy Council*, Rolls Series, 1891 ; vol. iij, pp. 168–173, 176, 178.
[2] H. Ellis, *Original Letters*, London, 1846 ; 3rd series, vol. iii, p. 303.
[3] Hooper's *Later Writings*, 145, § xv.
[4] *Ibid.*, 145, § xvii.
[5] *Ibid.*, 145, § xviii.
[6] *Ibid.*, 145, § xix.

huselling-breads "in two pieces, at the least, or more, by the discretion of the minister," to break one at any rate into "more pieces than two, as they were wont in their masses to break it into three pieces," a practice to which Hooper, of course, objected.[1] Some priests, too, seem to have omitted to break the breads given to the people.[2]

Because no altar-cloth is mentioned in the Prayer-book Hooper wished to confine his clergy solely to the use of the corporas cloth named therein; or rather, to forbid the use of any cloth other than the large altar cloth, to which he chose to misapply the term corporas.[3]

Another cause of offence to Hooper[4] was suffering or causing "the people to sit at the epistle and to stand at the gospel, and so use them both now as superstitiously as they did in the time of their massing!"

In visiting the sick[5] the priests used to cover their head with their surplice (apparently in lieu of a hood) carrying the Sacrament "at their breasts before them." It appears that only one species was brought to the sick in Hooper's diocese. A light, lanthorn, torch, or taper was carried before it, and when the priest bore it into the house, the people knelt and honoured it. All reverence to the oil used in aneling the sick man was forbidden by Hooper, whether on the part of the curate or the people, and they were to be told not to put any trust in it.[6] But one may ask, if all this explaining away was carried out, why should the sick man be aneled at all? Hooper was one of the party who disbelieved in all notion of sacramental grace, and who detested the book of 1549 as countenancing such notions. And as they were not able immediately to abolish it, they did the next best thing (from their point of view), distorted its obvious provisions and explained its teaching away.

[1] *Ibid.*, 145, § xx.
[2] J. Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, London, 1816; vol. ii, p. 372.
[3] Hooper, *op. cit.*, 146, § xxv.
[4] *Ibid.*, 146, § xxvii.
[5] *Ibid*, 147, § xxxii.
[6] *Ibid.*, 147, § xxxiii.

What Hooper desired[1] was that "the communion be used in such place and after such sort, as most varieth and is distant from the popish mass." So did the rest of his party. But the difficulty was to get the majority of the clergy and people to see eye to eye with them.

The Prayer-book of 1549 met with the same treatment in Ireland as it did in England. Either it was not used at all, or else what John Foxe calls the irreverent use prevailed; that is, the new book was used with the old ceremonies. The celebrated John Bale, Bishop of Ossory, far famed for the foulness of his language, thus describes the service at Waterford as he saw it on his way to his bishopric :—

> The Communion, or supper of the Lord, was there altogether used like a popish mass, with the old apish toys of Antichrist, in bowings and beckings, kneelings and knockings.[2]

The question—it is really only an academic one—has been asked, was there any use of incense under the Prayer-book of 1549, and if so was it legally in use? These are easy questions to ask, but the solution is rather difficult. It is evident that the compilers of the royal injunctions of 1547 expected that censing would be still continued after their issue,[3] when they ordered that all images that had been abused in divers ways (such as offering incense to them) "or shall be hereafter censed unto," were to be abolished. The proclamation of 6 February $1548/9$ forbids in most explicit and redundant phraseology[4] the least alteration in "any order, rite or ceremony commonly used and frequented in the Church

[1] *Ibid.*, 143, § v.

[2] *The vocacyon of Johan Bale to the bishopric of Ossorie in Irelande*, im printed in Rome, before the castell of St. Angell at y^e^ signe of St. Peter, in Decembre, Anno D^i^ 1553; fol. 17 *verso*. The book was not really printed at Rome: the statement is only a protestant joke.

[3] Cranmer's *Miscellaneous Writings*, 499.

[4] *Ibid.*, 508-9.

of England and not commanded to be left undone at any time in the reign of" Henry VIII. or of Edward VI.; and the *Order of the Communion* of the next month contains a rubric enjoining the same command.[1] Apart from this, there is no reference to censing in any official document, either by way of injunction or prohibition.

It has been suggested that the "reformers" were certainly opposed to it. Latimer, for instance, preaching on 18 January $15\frac{47}{48}$, at St. Paul's, described censing and "the light of candles, yea, at noondays," with a number of other ceremonies as the work of the devil, superstition and idolatry.[2] Justin Martyr had said much the same thing about incense before,[3] but Latimer did not know it or he would surely have quoted him. One might argue that so far from this sermon of Latimer's showing that there was any wish to abolish censing on the part of the authorities, it really points the other way. The particular objects that he denounces are candles, beads, all superstition and idolatry, *e.g.* censing, painting of images, candles, palms, ashes, holy water; purgatory; and the use of Latin in public worship. Images were finally ordered to be destroyed by the proclamation[4] of 21 February $15\frac{47}{48}$. In July 1547 the Council issued the first Book of Homilies. The third part of *the Sermon of Good Works* contains a denunciation of various "kinds of papistical superstitions and abuses," which include holy bread, holy water, palms, candles and fire, but censing and incense are never mentioned at all.

Dr. Richard Smith recanted the doctrine of his books[5] at Oxford in August 1547. He had taught that Christ and his apostles had ordained certain things which had been handed down "without writing," and which had

[1] *Two Liturgies*, 4.

[2] Hugh Latimer, *Sermons*, Parker Society, 1844; p. 70.

[3] Justin Martyr, *2nd Apology*, cap. v.

[4] Cranmer's *Miscellaneous Writings*, 510.

[5] J. Strype, *Memorials of Thomas Cranmer*, London, 1853; vol. i. 245, and ii, Appx. 329, no. xxxix.

"to be obeyed, kept and followed, under pain of damnation." Amongst these traditional matters were the observation of Lent, keeping the Eucharist in the pix, hallowing the font, the use of holy cream, and consecrating the same; hallowing altars, praying toward the east, the elevation of the host, and censing of the altar. But all that he was required to recant was the statement that *these matters must be observed under pain of damnation.* He did not, and was not asked to, say that these traditions were wrong in themselves.

On 27 January $15\frac{47}{48}$, it was announced that the Protector, with the advice of the Privy Council, was fully resolved that no more candles should be borne on Candlemas Day, nor ashes used on Ash Wednesday, nor palms hallowed on Palm Sunday.[1] Holy water and holy bread (the eulogia) were abolished before the rising in the summer of 1549, as we learn from the seventh of the rebels' Articles.[2] But still there is no word of censing, which, on all hands, is admitted to have been legal up to 9 June 1549.

It is also to be noted that the west-country rebels make no mention of the disuse of incense, unless it be included under the phrase, "all other ancient old ceremonies used heretofore by our mother holy church." Nor is it mentioned in any of the Replies to their Articles.

In Whitsun week of 1548, "the censing in Paul's" was "clean put down," and sermons substituted for it.[3] This, however, had not anything to do with censing at mass or divine service. It was the custom for the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs to go to St. Paul's on Monday in Whitsun week[4] before breakfast, between 9 and 10 o'clock. They were met on the north side of the

[1] Foxe, *edit. cit.* 1299. Bonner's letters to the various members of the episcopal college (which he wrote as dean thereof) are dated 28 January $15\frac{47}{48}$. This abolition was done entirely on Somerset's own initiation, without any pretence of legal authority.

[2] Cranmer, *Miscellaneous Writings*, 176.

[3] Wriothesley, ii, 2; *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, 56.

[4] *Munimenta Gildhallæ Londoniensis*, Rolls Series, 1859; vol. i, p. 29.

cemetery by the procession, and conducted into the church to the great entrance of the rood-loft, where they stood in a body, whilst the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus* was chanted by the vicars, with the organ. At alternate verses, a person, habited as an angel, was let down from above, and swung a censer. Which done, the mayor and aldermen went up to the altar and offered. A similar histrionic performance took place when Henry V. went to St. Paul's to give thanks for the victory of Agincourt.[1] This is what was "clean put down," and for which sermons were substituted. Perhaps, too, the big censer hanging from the roof which swung from the quire steps to the west door during procession-time throughout the week, was included in this prohibition.[2] Apart from this there is no other condemnation or prohibition of censing and the use of incense.

What has been termed "an extremely valuable piece of evidence" against the probability that incense was used under the Prayer-book of 1549, is the report of Danieli Barbaro[3] to the government of Venice in May 1551, the fifth year of Edward VI. The passage is as follows :—

> The service of the Lord's Supper is read nowhere but in English. . . . They use bells and organs, but neither altars, nor images, nor water, nor incense, nor other Roman ceremonies.

I have quoted Mr. Rawdon Brown's translation, but Dr. Wickham Legg[4] has shown that, first, the Italian is not *non acqua, non fuoco*, as he has it, nor, next, is it *romani*. The Venetian text is quite different :—

[1] *Memorials of Henry the Fifth*, Rolls Series, 1858 ; p. 129.

[2] *Ecclesiologist*, 1856 ; xvii, 199 ; W. Lambarde, *Dictionarium Angliae Topographicum*, London, 1730 ; p. 459, *sub voce*, Wytney. James Pilkington, *Works*, Parker Society, 1842 ; p. 540.

[3] *Calendar of State Papers, Venice*, 1534–1554, Rolls Series, 1873 ; vol. v, pp. 347 sq.

[4] The *Church Times*, 1 December, 1899, a paper entitled *The Case against Incense, a flaw in the argument.*

> Usano campane, organi, ma non altari, non imagini, non croci, non acque, non fuochi, non altre ceremonie delle mani.
>
> They use bells, organs, but not altars, not images, not crosses, not waters, not fires, not other ceremonies of the hands.

It was, as Dr. Legg points out, a bold thing to translate *fuoco* by *incense*; but it is still bolder to translate *fuochi* in the same way. Italian scholars are quite at one that neither in the singular nor in the plural does *fuoco* mean "incense."

It is possible that *waters* may refer to holy water, or perhaps to the hallowing of the font. But "fire" or "fires," though it might mean the "new fire" of Easter Even and Whitsun Eve, most likely means "altar-lights," which Dr. Ridley had taken on himself to forbid in the diocese of London into which he had been intruded. It is noteworthy that the text in the Decretals of Gregory IX. (Lib. III : tit. xli : cap. 14) which supports the use of lights and mixed chalice, speaks of the penalty for saying mass *sine igne et aqua*, without fire and water. In March 1551 Bullinger published his fifth Decade, dedicated to Henry, Duke of Suffolk ; and this volume of sermons met with high favour from the party to which Ridley belonged. In this he attacks the custom of the mixed chalice,[1] because "neither by the scriptures, nor by the example of Christ, can it be proved that water was mingled with wine at the supper." "Why," he asks, "do we seek to be wiser than Christ?" It seems not unlikely that the Catholic custom of the mingled cup was abandoned in a large number of churches in the diocese of London under the influence of Zwinglian-calvinism, and that it is to this and the prohibition of altar lights by Ridley, that Barbaro is referring. Dr. Legg, in the article to which we have already referred, has demonstrated the absolute unrelia-

[1] H. Bullinger, *Decades*, Parker Society, vol. v, pp. 411, 414.

bility of that worthy, even in quoting from the text of the Prayer-book of 1549.

It must be remembered that the advanced party were always "going before the king in his proceedings," and that with the tacit approval of the Council. "This circumstance gives us encouragement," Peter Martyr[1] wrote to Bullinger from Oxford, 27 January $15\frac{49}{50}$, "that some addition is always being made to what we have already obtained." The sermons preached before the Council during Lent, generally foreshadowed the particular line that would be taken that year. In Lent 1550 John Hooper preached on the prophet Jonas every Wednesday. We are not now concerned with the character of the teaching in them (which is Zwinglian on the sacraments), but with his opinion on ceremonies and ornaments. After stating that Christians needed no altars, and that Christ, his apostles, and the primitive church had none, he goes on to say :—

> It were well then, that it might please the magistrates, to turn the altars into tables, according to the first institution of Christ, to take away the false persuasion of the people they have of sacrifices to be done upon the altars . . . Then shall the religion of God the sooner take place.[2]

Further on he continues :—

> But this I would wish, that the magistrates should put both the preacher, minister, and the people in one place, and shut up the partition called the chancel, that separateth the congregation of Christ one from the other.[3]

In his sixth sermon he attacked the candles, vestments, crosses and altars. All that was needed for a celebration was bread, wine, a table, and a fair table-cloth.[4] All else was brought in by popes. In the seventh sermon he again denounces vestments and certain Christian prac-

[1] *Original Letters*, Parker Society, 1847 ; ii, 480.
[2] J. Hooper, *Early Writings*, Parker Society, 1843 ; p. 488.
[3] *Ibid.*, 491–2. [4] *Ibid.*, 534.

tices.[1] Holding the views he did about the sacraments, one is not surprised to read that "in all the time of Bishop Hooper were no children confirmed" in his dioceses.[2]

We have seen how this advice about altars was followed by Ridley in both Rochester and London dioceses; and later on, all over the country, the same desecration took place. Perhaps the hint that bread and wine were all that was needed was developed in like manner.

Another point to remember is that though the parishioners had to provide a censer, the canon law did not compel them to provide incense.[3] Where the parish priest was disinclined to fulfil his obligations, the custom would be omitted, for the disciplinary power of the bishops in their courts was practically abolished during the greater part of Edward's reign, and there was none else to compel obedience.

No argument against the use of incense can be deduced from the omission (1) of the forms of blessing incense, or (2) of prayers and ejaculations during the use of it. In the first place, the rubrics, following Durandus, expressly state that incense used for censing the clergy and people must never be blest.[4] Secondly, both the forms for blessing and for use during censing are not early, nor universal. The monks of the Charterhouse do not, and never did, use any such forms.[5] Consequently their disuse need not imply more than a return to earlier practice. And we are not left without any parallel

[1] *Ibid.*, 554.

[2] V. Green, *History and Antiquities of . . . Worcester*, London, 1796; p. 127.

[3] W. Lindewode, *Provinciale*, Lib. III: Tit. *De ecclesiis edificandis*: Cap. *Ut parrochiani*, and verb. *Diversas consuetudines*, and *Ad quos pertinent.*

[4] W. Durandus, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, Lib. IV: cap. viij: n. 2: Venetiis apud Gratiosum Perchacinum, 1568; fol. 69. W. Lindewode *Privinciale*, Lib. V: tit. *De hereticis*: cap. *Nullus quoque*: verb. *Thurificationibus. Missale Sarum*, 838*. *Manuale et Processionale ad usum insignis ecclesiae eboracensis*, Surtees Society, 1875; p. 22.*

[5] *Missale Carthusiensis Ordinis ex ordinatione Capituli Generalis, A.D MDCCVI*, Lugduni, 1713; p. 184.

instances in the Prayer-book itself. The rubrics order that after baptism the child was to be anointed with the holy cream, and the sick man, if he so wished, to be aneled with oil. At the time when the Prayer-book was enforced, it is true that there were forms for hallowing these, for the old Pontificals were still in force; but when the new Ordinal appeared and supplanted them, there were no forms provided for hallowing either. So that the omission of these forms does not of itself mean that the practice of censing was not to be retained.

Another argument sometimes brought forward is that when the royal commissioners went round in January $15\frac{51}{52}$, they, in a majority of cases at any rate, took into their hands the censers, candlesticks, and pixes. But the argument is somewhat weakened by the fact that they also removed chalices, patens, and the bells from the belfries. Its force is entirely destroyed when we read in the actual Council order dated 3 March $15\frac{50}{51}$, that this appropriation of ornaments was not even professedly a religious act,[1] but solely and entirely "for as much as the king's majesty had need presently of a mass of money." There is no attempt at concealing the fact that *plunder* and not *religion* was the motive.

The Commission dated 16 January, 6 Ed. VI., after unusual solicitude for the poor, to whom were to be given everything that was worthless after the church had been allowed to keep a chalice, a surplice, and a linen cloth "to God's glory and our honour," directs the sale of everything of value, whether vestments, plate or other metal for the royal use.

Hence we may dismiss this argument, too, without further ceremony: and conclude that incense was legally in use under the Prayer-book of 1549.

The *rectores chori* or rulers of the choir—whose duty was to preintone the psalms, canticles, hymns, etc., and

[1] *Acts of the Privy Council*, iii, 228. The Commission is printed in full by A. J. Stephens, *The Book of Common Prayer*, Ecclesiastical History Society, 1849; vol. i, pp, 356 sq.

generally supervise the music during the service—and their copes,[1] were not abolished at St. Paul's Cathedral Church until Christmas 1550, although there they were always ahead in protestant innovations. The rulers, or chanters, as they were sometimes called in parish churches, wore copes, and stood in the midst of the quire.

Some time after the establishment of the first Edwardian Prayer-book, certain other old rites which were ignored therein, persisted. Such as are connected with burial and the departed have ever been most tenacious of their hold on the popular mind. Butzer states in 1551 :—

> I am told that there are women of title who boldly ask for minds to be celebrated where there are no communicants, and that there are mass priests who celebrate mass in the very time and place that the ordinary clergy are celebrating the Communion.[2]

Judge Hynde was buried in St. Dunstan's-in-the-West on 18 October 1550, and there was a month's-mind[3] held for him, "in the country," away from the pernicious influence of the court. Again, on 22 September of the following year, was held the month's-mind of the two boy dukes of Suffolk,[4] in Cambridgeshire, and Cambridge, it must be remembered, was the stronghold of Butzer. On the 10th day of January, $15\frac{52}{53}$, was kept the month's-mind of Sir Thomas Windsor, knight,[5] in the county of Buckinghamshire.

Even such an extreme protestant as Sir John Cheke was not able entirely to divest himself of all catholic feeling upon the occasion of Butzer's funeral. In describing it to Martyr, he says that on the day after the burial

> A congregation was again assembled at the church; thanksgivings having been rendered in the usual way that

[1] *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, 68.
[2] *Scripta Anglicana*, 458.
[3] *The Diary of Henry Machyn*, Camden Society, 1848; p. 2.
[4] *Ibid.*, 9. [5] *Ibid.*, 29.

> [the Lord] brings his own in seasonable times into the port and refuge of Salvation; and the benefit of the death of Christ being offered at the Lord's Table, 400 drew nigh to the Communion of the Eucharist, thus commemorating the death of Christ, and by communion with Him increasing the hope of a resurrection.[1]

[1] In a letter to Bullinger, 28 February 1550, John Stumphius announces with great joy the release of Somerset as a protestant victory.[2] He says that owing to his fall "those cruel beasts, the Romanists," had begun to revive the mass, and "to practise their ancient mummeries at funerals and other offices of that kind."

Hooper found in 1551 that at burials there was more than one communion[3]; he also forbad at the same time month's-minds, and other like services after the corpse was buried,[4] as it maintained "false belief of the state and condition of the dead." On All Souls' Day, some of his clergy used to say *Dirge*, openly or secretly, for the dead, and permit ringing of bells upon the same day, or night before, as it was used after the popish and superstitious order.[5]

The custom of holding torches around the herse, which lasted on almost to our own days, was, at any rate, occasionally continued under the first Edwardian Prayer-book, in spite of the pronounced opinions of the reformers against such practices. Matching mentions that at the funeral of Sir Peryn Negroo (?) in July 1551, there were twelve staff torches[6]: there were twenty-four borne by as many poor men at the burial of Baptist Borrow[7] at St. Giles, Cripplegate, 15 June 1552.

[1] Gorham's *Gleanings*, 240.
[2] *Original Letters*, ii, 464.
[3] *Later Writings*, 146. Probably in imitation of the three masses commonly used at funerals of persons of rank or importance, viz., 1 *De Sancta Trinitate* vel *De Spiritu Sancto*, 2 *De Sancta Maria*, and 3 *Requiem eternam*.
[4] *Ibid.*, 146, § xxiii.
[5] *Ibid.*, 147, § xxxv.
[6] *Machyn's Diary*, 8.
[7] *Ibid.*, 21.

That the old ceremony of the Easter Sepulchre survived for a long time is evident from the enquiries as late as the fourth and fifth years of Edward VI. made by Ridley and Hooper in 1550, and Bulkeley[1] in 1551. In the churchwardens' accounts of Christ Church, Bristol,[2] made 3 May 6 Edw. VI., 1552, is a curious entry: "*Item* paid to John Coke for a boke callid christus Resurgens —— iiij^{d}." The only explanation of this entry that seems reasonable is that a book was bought for the choir to sing the Anthem *Christus resurgens*, as of old, on Easter morning when the cross was taken out of the sepulchre.

Dr. Wickham Legg has shown how the reformers disliked organs, and abolished them in so many places during Edward's reign.[3] Henry Bullinger strongly disapproved of them.[4] But in other places, as at Bristol, for instance, organs remained in use. Such churchwardens' accounts of this time as are extant in Bristol, contain either payments to the organist, or items for the repairing of the instrument, showing that it was used. There are usually payments to singing men as well.

The ornaments of the Ordinal of 1550 are the same as those of the Prayer-book of 1549, a chair for the bishop being the only addition. An extraordinary misconception has arisen concerning this Ordinal and the thirty-sixth Article of Religion. We have been assured that the latter "not only refers to the second year of Edward VI. as the Ornaments Rubric of the Prayer-book does, but also mentions the Rites of that Book: and that thus the first book and the second year are undoubtedly taken as

[1] Browne Willis, *Survey of the Cathedral Church of Bangor*, London, 1721; p. 335. Bulkeley's visitation articles are dated May 1551.

[2] MS. *penes* Rector of Christ Church with St. Ewens, Bristol.

[3] In *Church Times* of December 1, 1899.

[4] H. Bullinger, *Decades*, Parker Society, 1849-52; iv, 191, 197. This opinion of Bullinger's was doubtless the reason why "the quire of Paul's had a commandment from the dean from Cambridge at the Bishop of Canterbury's visitation that he should leave the playing of organs at the divine service, and so left it" on 4 December 1552 (*Grey Friars' Chronicle*, 75).

equivalent." This is sheer invention. The Article says that all who have been consecrated or ordered *according to the rites of that book*, SINCE the second year of Edward VI., are rightly and lawfully ordered. The Act of Parliament authorising the Ordinal is 3 Ed. VI., cap 12, and the book was first printed in March $1549/50$, the fourth year of Edward VI. But Cranmer had illegally and irregularly used the form therein[1] before that date, in 1549. The Article refers to what has taken place, *since*, that is *after* the second year, according to the rites of a book that did not receive legal sanction until the spring of the *fourth* year.

Having reviewed the information about the ceremonial in use with the first Edwardian book, it will be as well to go through the mass of that book, and notice what important variations were made, if any.

Nothing is said about the entry of the assistants with the cross, candlesticks, and censer. They are ignored: but unless omission is absolutely tantamount to prohibition—and such a proposition will not hold water for an instant where the rubrics of this book are concerned—there is nothing to prevent their entry with the priest and his two ministers in tunicles as of old. The permission to use the cope *or* the chasuble might have been so worded as tersely to include the arrangements for mass and the dry mass appointed for Wednesdays and Fridays in one rubric. But Cranmer's action on Sunday, 21 July 1549, shows that it was really intended as a cloak for further change in a protestant direction.[2]

The rubric to the epistle is important. It runs thus :—

> The minister then shall read the Epistle. Immediately after the Epistle ended, the priest, or one appointed to read the Gospel, shall say, *etc.*, *etc.*

[1] J. Strype, *Memorials of . . . Thomas Cranmer*, London, 1853; vol. i, p. 276.

[2] Wriothesley, ii, 16-17. *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, 60.

The important word is *Immediately*. First let us see what was done in the Latin service at this moment.[1] The collet brought in the chalice, paten, and corporasses (in some churches it was the subdeacon[2] who did this) : the chalice was made, and the bread set on the paten ; the larger corporas was spread on the altar, the altar was censed by the deacon where the corporas lay ; and then the procession to the place where the gospel was read set forth, headed by a cross (sometimes), by lights, and by incense. During this interval an anthem, termed a grail (followed by a *tract* or an *Alleluia*), was sung. The direction that the announcement of the gospel shall follow *immediately* cuts out the making of the chalice, etc., and the censing of the altar ; it also cuts out the anthems. Such a direction was not unknown to Cranmer and his accomplices. For instance, in the vigil mass of Christmas, the prophetic lesson is followed *absque intervallo* by the Epistle.[3] In such a position it meant that there was to be no anthem, as was more usually the case between the Scripture lessons.

Now the injunctions of 1547 order the epistle and gospel to be read "in the pulpit, or in such convenient place as the people may hear the same." And, in the absence of other order, it is natural to suppose that the same was continued with the Prayer-book. But this implies a procession from the altar to the pulpit, and after the epistle was over. In this procession one may conclude that the old ceremonial with lights and incense lawfully obtained.

There is no prayer of offering, and no mention of censing at the offertory. The rubric hardly leaves a loophole for the priest to retain that ceremony.

The prohibition of the sacring or elevation which in the *Order of the Communion* applied only to a second con-

[1] W. H. Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, Cambridge, 1898 ; vol. i, pp. 70-1-2-3.
[2] *E.g.* at Lincoln (*Statutes*, Ed. Bradshaw & Wadsworth, Cambridge, 1892 ; j, 378).
[3] *Missale Sarum*, 46.

secration of the chalice when that was needed, is here made general.

There are no directions whatever for any fresh consecration of either species should they fail. But nevertheless we have evidence that it was done for the chalice, and was objected to by the Zwinglian party. Martyr, in writing to Butzer, 10 January 1551, about his *Censura* on the first Prayer-book, after disapproval of the form for communicating the sick because the recital of the Institution was not made in the sick person's hearing, continues, speaking of his own *Censura*, for which Cranmer had pressed him :—

> I stated that it clearly seems to me that all things that are necessarily required for the Lord's Supper, should be both said and done in the presence of the sick person, and of those who communicate with him. And it is, indeed, wonderful that they should scruple to say those words in the presence of a sick person which might be very profitable to him,—though they choose to repeat them uselessly whenever it happens during communion in the church that wine is wanting in the cup, although the persons who take the sacraments have already heard them.[1]

This passage shows that the old rubrics were obeyed, although they did *not* appear in the book. It also shows why reservation for the sick was given up in the Prayer-book of 1552 ; the reason being that no one then in power believed in a consecration, the only object in their eyes of the recital of the form, which was afterwards made into our prayer of consecration, being for the people to hear it.

The introduction of the *Order* of the Communion in March $1547/8$, led to considerable diversity of rites and ceremonies, which was increased by the further introduction in various churches of vernacular services. Complin[2] had been sung in English on 11 April 1547,

[1] Gorham's *Gleanings*, 228.

[2] Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, London, 1816 ; vol. ii, p. 40.

in the Chapel Royal, and at the opening of Parliament 4 November 1547 there was the usual mass of the Holy Ghost, at which Dr. Ridley preached[1]; at this mass "*Gloria in excelsis*, the Creed, *Sanctus*, *Benedictus* and *Agnus Dei* were all sung in English." In May of 1548 Wriothesley[2] notes that "Paul's quire with divers other parishes in London sung the service in English, both matins, mass, and evensong; and kept no mass, without some received the communion with the priest." On the 12th of that month[3] Henry VII.'s anniversary "was kept at Westminster, the mass sung all in English, with the consecration of the sacrament also spoken in English, the priest leaving out all the canon after the creed save the *Pater noster*, and ministering the communion after the King's book." Numerous other minor alterations had been going on since the beginning of Edward's reign, all in the direction of substituting English for Latin in parts of the service.

Somerset wrote on 4 September 1548, to the Vice-chancellor of Cambridge,[4] and all masters and rulers of colleges there, requiring them to "use one uniform order, rite, and ceremonies in the mass, matins, and evensong, and all divine service" in their colleges, chapels, or other churches, "such as is presently used in the king's majesty's chapel, and none other. The which for more instruction we have by this bearer sent unto you."

It may readily be surmised that the constant alterations did not tend to produce uniformity, and what actually occurred is graphically described by a later writer, Robert Parsons.

> And now what a babylonical confusion ensued in England upon these innovations in all Churches, Parishes and Bishop-

[1] Wriothesley, i, 187. J. Stowe, *Annales*, Londini, 1631; p. 595.
[2] Wriothesley, ii, 2.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Given from C.C.C.C. MS. 106, fol. 495 in Gasquet and Bishop, *Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer*, London, 1891; pp. 146-7.

> rics commonly, is wonderful to recount. For some priests said the Latin mass, some the English communion ; some both, some neither ; some said half of one and half of the other. And this was very ordinary : to wit, to say the *Introitus* and *Confiteor* in English : and then the Collects and some parts in Latin. And after that again the Epistle and Gospel in English, and then the Canon of the mass in Latin : and lastly the benediction and last gospel in English. And this minglemangle did every man make at his pleasure as he thought would be most grateful to the people.[1]

What this confusion developed into by the time of the second Prayer-book, may be read in Myles Huggarde's *The displaying of the Protestants and sondry their practices*,[2] printed in 1556.

It would seem probable that the gradual and piecemeal introduction of the English tongue in public worship contributed to the persistence of the old ceremonial. The change from Latin to English ritual thus came by comparatively slow degrees, and there is no doubt of the love of the people and clergy for their old customs. Consequently there was not an absolute break between the old and the new rites in most places, such as there might have been had the alteration been without preparation and warning.

To sum up. The Prayer-book of 1549 marks a stage in the attack upon the Church of England in this reign. The rubrics were left vague and scanty, not because the book was prepared in a hurry—as early as May 1548, they had it, or an early edition of it, at various London churches—but so that, by lack of direction, uncertainty and carelessness might step in and do what direct prohibition would perhaps be unable to do ; and, also, that the absence of direction might be taken advantage of by the authorities to forbid everything that was not ordered.

[1] N.D. [R. Parsons] *A Treatise of Three Conversions of England*, London, 1688 ; p. 206.

[2] Quoted by the late Rev. N. Pocock in *English Historical Review*, July, 1895 ; p. 423.

The thorough realization of this becomes of great practical importance when we are referred to the Prayer-book of 1549 as the standard intended by the Ornaments Rubric of 1661. We hold that the rubric really refers to the year before, 1548; but that the same ornaments were legally used under the first Prayer-book as in 1548 and the first five months of 1549. But the trouble has come from those who read into the book prohibitions, introduced after the book was in force by men who disbelieved in almost every doctrine that, taken in the literal and grammatical sense, the book most clearly teaches:—prohibitions founded sometimes on omissions, sometimes in the teeth of the positive statements of the rubrics. If we are to be guided by the intentions of "our reformers" in ceremonial, we must certainly follow them in doctrine, of which ceremonial is only the external expression and nothing more. But in that case we must separate ourselves from the Catholic Church, for it was only by the overruling providence of God that all continuity, actual and doctrinal, with the Church founded by our Lord and his apostles, was not utterly dissolved by the reformers of the reign of Edward VI.

Hence, in endeavouring to ascertain what ornaments were *legally* used under this Prayer-book, we must ignore the expressed intentions of its authors, as well as their method of using it; for they avowedly had no intention of retaining this Prayer-book longer than was necessary than to accustom the people to a lower standard of doctrine and to as lessened a ceremonial as they could induce them to put up with. When they considered that that had been accomplished, and that it was safe to go further, further they went. The second Prayer-book was not the lowest ebb, for a third had been drawn up by Cranmer, which he would have enforced, had he been able.

Taking the book apart from its origin in Lutheran sources, and without regard to the interpretation put upon it by its authors; in a word, taking it as Laud

made us take the Thirty-Nine Articles, in the literal and grammatical sense, we may say in the words of Gardiner that its doctrine is not distant from the Catholic faith.[1] But the ambiguity of many passages was of studied intent, although Latimer went too far in saying that he could see little difference between the two books[2]; and the statement in the second Act of Uniformity[3] that the second book was only the first "faithfully and godly perused, explained, and made fully perfect" was a downright lie. But the truth was never in those who held the reins of power under Edward VI., and well might the catholic-minded men of England echo the cry of the Preacher, "Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child, and thy princes eat in the morning" before they communicate. The practice of non-fasting communion was naturally a consequence of the attack on the teaching of the Church about the Eucharist during this reign. Roger Hutchinson,[4] preaching at Eton College in 1552, taught that while "he doth well which cometh fasting to the Lord's Table, so he doth not ill which, by occasion, cometh after that he hath eaten and drunk."

The same doctrine[5] is taught in the *Defence of the Church*, a sermon by Coelius Secundus Curio, translated into English by John Philpott, archdeacon of Winchester, and dedicated to Somerset by him.

Such is the Book of Common Prayer ordered to be used in the Church of England on and after 9 June 1549 under severe and drastic penalties, by an Act of Parliament, without the concurrence of, or initiation by, the Church.

[1] Cranmer's *Writings and Disputations*, 92.
[2] H. Latimer, *Sermons and Remains*, Parker Society, 1845; p. 262
[3] 5 & 6 Ed. VI. cap. i.
[4] R. Hutchinson, *Works*, Parker Society, 1842; 222.
[5] John Philpot, *Examinations and Writings*, Parker Society, 1842; p. 379

[*I desire to thank the widow of the Rev. Nicholas Pocock for most kindly allowing the use of his MSS. in preparing the foregoing essay.—E.G.C.F.A.*]

The Genius of the Roman Rite

BY EDMUND BISHOP

A paper read at the Meeting of the Historical Research Society, on Monday, May 8th, 1899.

The Genius of the Roman Rite

BY EDMUND BISHOP

It is with much diffidence that I venture to address any assembly on the subject of this paper, or, indeed, discuss the Liturgy at all. On questions connected with the origin, the relations, the extension, or the history of the Roman rite, much has indeed been said and learnedly written any time during this last fifty or sixty years ; much has been disputed with regard to it within certain circles, and hotly disputed too. Yet, after all, as the result of so much labour and zeal it cannot be said, I think, that much real knowledge of the subject exists. By *real knowledge*, I mean knowledge of such a kind as can be grasped by the educated man who is no specialist, but who, regarding the Roman Liturgy as a factor, and no inconsiderable factor, in the religious history of the past, desires to possess some common notions as to its character, compared with other rites that have existed in the Christian world ; and would wish to know why, whilst they have been discarded, it has become so widely spread and is now universal throughout the West. Learned volume accumulates on learned volume, theory is elaborated after theory, and yet the remark which has been reported to me of an eminent historical writer, accustomed to all the niceties of critical inquiry, has only too much justification. "In the course of my studies of the early middle ages," he said, "I have not infrequently had need to obtain information on liturgical subjects in order to understand the general history. I

turn to the most authorised books on the subject, and I confess I cannot understand them, or bring what they say into accord with the results obtained by the accepted modern methods of investigation."

I am afraid I may have already managed to possess my hearers with a somewhat unfavourable opinion in regard, generally, to the subject of this essay. I should be sorry to do so, for it is really a subject of deep interest, and one which it is desirable that, as Catholics, we should be able to understand. And my belief is that the history of our sacred rites should be matter quite capable of rational and simple exposition.

But our subject this evening is a much narrower one. It will be well, first of all, to understand precisely what is meant by the title of this essay: "The Genius of the Roman Rite." Someone a very long time ago described Genius as "Son of the Gods and Father of Men." It is thus we speak of the Genius of a people—the French or the English, the German or the Italian; a something intangible and indefinable, it is true, but a permanent reality that we can quite well apprehend; a characteristic and distinguishing spirit that manifests itself in all that that people says and does, in its history and its literature; determining the character of both, and affecting the general character even of its thought.

An inquiry into the genius of the Roman rite is, therefore, an endeavour to get at, and to recognise, the particular, the native spirit animating and penetrating that rite, which differentiates it from others, Gallican or Gothic, Greek or Oriental. If we can, as I say, get at this and bring it into clear recognition, it is reasonable to anticipate that a great step will have been taken towards understanding how it has come about that this rite has so far recommended itself, as to supersede all others in Western Christendom. I say "all others," viewing the Ambrosian rite as really Roman at bottom. Of course, to some minds, the idea of a simple fiat of authority is sufficient explanation for any or all such change. But, as a fact, it

is not commonly so that great changes do come about in this world. When the case is looked closely into, it is generally found that sound reason and rational method, after all, play the great part in human revolutions.

Our first business is to turn not to remains of antiquity, accessible for the most part to the learned only, but to the authorised and official Roman service books in current use, with which we are all familiar ; and especially to the missal, the missal being the most important of them all. Perusing the masses for the ecclesiastical year in the Roman Missal, or the votive masses, the attentive reader who has no theories on the Liturgy, who will divest himself of booklearning on the subject and be content to note and observe just what is obviously there, cannot fail to see how different in character, style, and feeling, are many of the prayers of the missal. Here is an example which I hope may bring home what I mean ; it is by no means an extreme case, and I choose it for that very reason. The prayers taken for comparison are the collect, secret, and post-communion (I.) for All Souls Day, (II.) those prescribed for the Living and the Dead, to be said in the third place on Ash Wednesday and during Lent.

I. *Collect.*—O God, the Creator and Redeemer of all the faithful, grant to the souls of Thy servants departed the remission of all their sins, that through pious supplications they may obtain the pardon which they have always desired.

Secret.—Mercifully look down upon this Sacrifice which we offer to Thee for the souls of Thy servants, O Lord, we beseech Thee ; that to those to whom Thou didst grant the merit of Christian faith, Thou mayest also grant its reward.

Post-Communion.—We beseech Thee, O Lord, that the prayer of Thy suppliants may benefit the souls of Thy servants ; that Thou mayest deliver them from all their sins, and make them partakers of Thy redemption.

The following are the corresponding prayers "for the

Living and the Dead," prescribed to be said throughout Lent.

II. *Collect.*—O Almighty and Eternal God who hast dominion over the living and the dead, and art merciful to all whom Thou foreknowest shall be Thine by faith and good works ; we humbly beseech Thee that they for whom we have determined to offer up our prayers, whether the present world still detains them in the flesh, or the future hath already received them out of the body, may, by the intercession of all Thy saints, and the clemency of Thy pity, obtain the pardon of all their sins.

Secret.—O God who alone knowest the number of the elect who are to be placed in supernal felicity, grant we beseech Thee that, by the intercession of all Thy saints, the names of all those who have been commended to our prayers, and of all the faithful, may be kept in that book of blessed predestination.

Post-Communion.—May the mysteries which we have received purify us, we beseech Thee, O Almighty and Merciful God, and by the intercession of all Thy saints, grant that this Thy sacrament may not be made unto us a means of condemnation, but of pardon and salvation ; may it be the washing away of sins ; the strength of the weak ; protection against all the dangers of the world ; and the remission of all the sins of the faithful, living and dead.

It suffices, I think, only to listen to the reading of these prayers to perceive how different are the two sets in spirit, in feeling, and in the run of ideas. In the one set the ideas are as simple and elementary as the expression is pregnant and precise : they are plain matter of fact, without imagination at all. In the second set we are in a different region :—in one aspect vague and figurative, as with the "book of blessed predestination" ; in another, in the midst of theological ideas, the fruit of Christian reflection and speculation,—with "the number of the elect" and "those whom Thou foreknowest shall be Thine by faith and good works." Again, the plain

designation, "the souls of Thy servants departed," becomes in the second set, "those whom the future world hath already received out of the body." Once more the simple petition for the forgiveness of sins and the partaking of the redemption becomes in the second set of prayers quite a litany.

I am not now saying "this is Roman" or "that is not Roman"; I am not even saying that these two sets of prayers could not have been written by one and the same man. But I do say that in that case his mood, and sense, and feeling, issuing in his style, must have been very different on the two occasions; and that there is a difference, as great and as perceptible, as between the style of Addison and the style of Macaulay.

But when, on going further and endeavouring to trace back the history of the prayers just read, up to the earliest point at which I have any knowledge of them, I find that the one set comes from a book that is certainly, though not in every detail of its contents, Roman; and that the other set comes from a quarter that is not Roman, but may conveniently be called Gallican; a new aspect is given to the whole question, and I begin to see possibilities of historical investigation.

It has been said that one reason for choosing the foregoing example taken from within the covers of the Roman Missal, is that the contrast is not extreme. To illustrate, however, the differing "genius" of liturgical rites, I take a second example and compare a preface of the Roman rite, and the corresponding preface from the Spanish Gothic rite commonly called the Mozarabic.

Here is that marvellous preface for Pentecost in the Roman Missal:—

"It is truly meet and just, right and salutary, that we should always, and in all places, give thanks to Thee, O Holy Lord, Father Almighty Eternal God, through Jesus Christ our Lord, who ascending above all heavens and sitting at Thy right hand poured forth the promised Holy Ghost this day upon the children of adoption.

Wherefore with joy that knows no bounds the whole universe exults[1]; the powers, too, above and the Angelic hosts together hymn Thy glory, saying evermore Holy."

It strikes one immediately as characteristic, that whilst our Roman rite takes only some eight lines to commemorate in its preface for Pentecost that great mystery, the Gothic preface takes some eighty lines. It would be impossible and wearisome to translate the whole ; but I give the beginning and the end as showing the contrast with the Roman formula :—

" It is meet and right, O God Almighty, to acknowledge, as far as man can do, Thy gracious benefit, and ever in yearly round to celebrate the gift of eternal salvation granted this day. For who shall keep silent on the advent of Thy Holy Spirit, since through Thy Apostles every tongue of the barbarians finds voice ? But who can sufficiently tell the illapse of that fire on this day ? "

The preface then goes on by slow meander to reach and to develop the theme that the preservation of the unity of the faith is not prejudiced by the variety of languages spoken by the faithful. It proceeds, by-and-by, to touch on mystic meanings involved in the seven weeks or fifty days of Eastertide ; and comes round at length again to the idea of the unity of the faith in the diversity of the nations. The preface closes thus :—" O flame that in burning confers fruitfulness, whom every intellectual creature, vivified by it, confesses to be the Lord Omnipotent ; participating in whose fire in more abundant measure the Cherubim and Seraphim, magnifying the equality of the Holiness Divine and the Omnipotence of the Trinity, never resting and never wearying in their office, amidst the song of choirs of the celestial

[1] *Totus in orbe terrarum mundus.* The prayers in which the Roman genius expresses itself are truly hard to render ; there have been in the past samples of excellence in that line, and yet to the fastidious ear and sense, even theses in all their old world beauty, are not satisfying after all.

host, crying aloud with everlasting jubilation, adore and glorify, saying : Holy."

Prefaces, even those for the greatest mysteries of religion, worked out into trifling considerations, are no rare exception in these early Gallican and Spanish books. Read in the student's closet or the library, these books are of the deepest interest ; they contain also prayers of great beauty ; but when regarded as living rites, as giving the prayers actually said and sung in public, they not only proclaim themselves as the productions of a late, and sometimes of a barbarous age, but they evince a tone of mind, and are the product of a spirit alien to that which we have now become accustomed to regard as most befitting the Divine worship, tutored as we have so long been in the sobriety of Roman forms. Many fine things have been said of these books, and much sentiment has been expended on them, but—a simple test—they could not stand the test of a full translation into English.

Features that are most characteristic of them are not, indeed, wholly wanting in the Roman Missal, as, for instance, in the third prayer for the blessing of the palms on Palm Sunday, which begins much like an ordinary collect, and then breaks forth into an expository instruction on the mystical meaning of the ceremony. "The branches of palms, then, signify His triumph," &c., &c. ; —an exposition quite in place in an address to the people, but surely not so, according to our now common notions, in a prayer addressed to God ; yet the style here adopted is perfectly consonant with what is found in the prefaces of the early Gallican and Spanish missals.

We are, of course, now accustomed to a printed Roman Missal, and to regard this stereotyped book, through practice, as a homogeneous whole. If we had nothing but the test of differences of style, it would be impossible to get beyond speculation as to the possibly diverse elements of which the missal may be composed. As experience shows, scientific discussions on such a basis

have no end, simply because no external criterion can be brought to bear on the subject. They are commonly, therefore, best given over altogether. Fortunately, however, in the present case such a criterion is available. We are able to decompose the present Roman Missal, refer it to its sources, and recognise out of what elements or documents it is made up. The question, therefore, is no longer matter of arbitrary speculation, but of investigation into matter of fact. On this point, even so late as five years ago, I could not have spoken with full confidence. Since then I have seen, I think, every manuscript of real importance for the history of the missal at the critical period, and know now what, precisely, are the limits or the contents of the two documents or volumes of which our present missal was made up, and know also in a general, but, I think, sufficient way, what was the gradual course of the fusion of these two documents. One of them may be taken as genuinely Roman, without foreign admixture ; the other, though the substratum—indeed the bulk of it—is Roman, has been considerably modified by Gallican hands. In the course of the fusion, several other non-Roman items, have been introduced. This process was going on during the whole of the ninth century in France and Germany. As to the date at which the book thus brought together was received and adopted by the Roman Church, we are altogether in the dark ; but the Roman Missal of the present day is unimpeachable evidence that it is a composite work ; whilst the evidence is equally clear, that its compilation did not take place in Rome, and that Rome only adopted it ready made.

It has become possible, therefore, out of the whole complex or amalgam, to get at, and separate out, the genuine Roman elements ; and it is evident that out of these latter only is it possible to realise what is the special contribution made by the Roman genius to the Liturgy of the Western Church. This can best be seen by some particular example ; and to give such an example must be the next stage of our inquiry.

As the most convenient example, we may take what we are all familiar with, viz., the text of the mass as it now stands in the Roman Missal ; and, disembarrassing it of foreign elements, put ourselves in a position to consider the pure Roman product. These foreign elements may be called to a large extent French, and, for the most part, made their appearance in the Roman mass only in the later middle ages.

1. The *Asperges*, the psalm *Judica* with the following versicles, in fact everything said up to, and including, the prayers said by the priest when he ascends to the altar, are all non-Roman and of comparatively late introduction.

2. The *Kyrie eleison* was introduced at a much earlier period, viz., the second half of the fifth century. It was imported from the East ; it was not a native Roman element of the mass.

3. The same may be said of the *Gloria in Excelsis*, and of the *Credo* ; the former may have been introduced into the Roman mass in the sixth, the second in the eleventh century.

4. The whole of the prayers accompanying the acts of the offertory and the censing of the altar, the psalm at the lavabo, and the *Suscipe sancta Trinitas*, are all of late medieval introduction, and they again are borrowed from what may be conveniently called French use.

5. The early history of the *Agnus Dei* is obscure, nor is it clear whether it was actually in use in Rome before the latter part of the seventh century or not.

6. The three prayers said before the communion, and all that follows the collect called the "post-communion" (except the *Ite missa est*), are again late, and are all borrowed.

The purely Roman elements of our mass remain as follows :—

1. The Collect.
2. The Epistle.
3. The Blessing before the Gospel.
4. The Gospel.

5. The "Orate Fratres" and the collect, called "the secret," and all that follows up to the *Pax Domini* (viz., the Preface, Canon, Lord's Prayer, and the short prayer immediately following).

6. The collect called the Post-Communion.

7. The *Ite missa est.*

In addition to this, account is to be taken of four items of chant, viz., the Introit, Gradual, Offertory, and Communion. These, it is true, are not Roman in the sense that they originated in Rome and spread from thence elsewhere. They were adopted in Rome, speaking generally, as soon as they made their appearance and began fairly to spread.

Nothing, then, can possibly be more simple than the composition (mind, I am not now speaking of ceremonies) of the early Roman mass, say about the middle of the fifth century. The singing of the introit by the choir at the beginning on the entry of the clergy; a prayer or collect said by the celebrant; followed by readings from the Bible, separated by a psalm sung by the choir, which we call the "gradual." After the collection of the offerings of bread and wine from the people, during which the choir sing another psalm—our "offertory"—the celebrant reads a second collect having reference to the offered gifts, which collect we call the "secret." Next, comes, as an introduction to the great action of the sacrifice, what we call the "preface," said by the celebrant, and followed by a solemn choral song of praise to God, the *Sanctus.* Then follows the great act of sacrifice itself embodying the consecration, viz., the prayer called the Canon. As a preparation for the communion of the priest and people, the celebrant says the Lord's Prayer, adding a few words which are, as it were, the echo of that holy prayer, our *Libera nos, Domine.* Then comes the communion of the people, during which a psalm is sung by the choir, which we call the "communion." Finally the celebrant says a third collect, our "post-communion," nd the assem bly is dismissed.

It is to be observed that these collects are extremely short ; three or four lines, as we have them in our missal to-day.

What can be more simple ? It is the mass reduced to its least possible expression. There is not a single element that is not essential—unless, indeed, it were contended that the readings from the Bible, and the preface and *Sanctus*, together with the singing of psalms at the entry of the clergy, before the gospel and during the acts of collecting the offerings and the communion, are superfluous.

Turning now from the parts or items, of which the native Roman mass is composed, to the ceremonial accompanying them, we shall find this same character of simplicity confirmed. The documents to which we have to trust for information on this matter do not in their present shape go back further than the close of the eighth century, and they not infrequently differ in points of detail ; but they certainly embody customs observed some two or three centuries before. Their late date does not affect the utility of these ceremonials, or *Ordos* as they are called, for this reason : even supposing they were actually drawn up in the eighth century, of one thing we may be certain, viz., that they do not give us the simplification of a more elaborate ceremonial in use at an earlier date, but, so far as changes have been made, they would represent if anything the elaboration of something once even more simple. But I, for one, have little doubt that, with the deduction of a detail here or there—for which deduction a specific reason could be given—we possess in these *Ordos*, substantially, the ceremonial of the Roman mass of the sixth, or even fifth, century.

To represent this ceremonial to the mind's eye is, perhaps, to-day no such easy matter, now that long habit has accustomed us to much that we view as a natural accompaniment of the service. For instance, we do not realise at once how much of added and imposing ceremonial is involved in the addition, in the twelfth and

thirteenth centuries, of the single act of the elevation of the Host and Chalice, with its accompanying lights and torches, censings, bell-ringings, and genuflections. Next, all ideas of censing the altar, the elements for the sacrifice, or persons, are alien to the native Roman rite, and have been introduced into it from elsewhere in the course of centuries. In trying to figure to ourselves the true and unadulterated Roman ceremonial of the mass,[1] we must conceive ritual pomp as confined to two moments: first, the entry of the celebrant into the church and up to the altar; secondly, in connection with the singing of the gospel. We have only an account of a great feast day and of a papal, or, what was the same thing, an episcopal mass; but the general character and proportion of the ceremonial is not thereby seriously affected, as in those days the determinant was not so much the dignity of the celebrant as the dignity of the service.

The procession of the celebrant and his ministers to the altar on great feasts must have been highly imposing, with its seven acolytes bearing torches, seven deacons, seven subdeacons, one of whom carried a fuming censer; all in the procession, from the Pope himself down to the acolytes, being vested in what the Romans called *planetæ*, and we, chasubles.

The choir of singers was already stationed in the presbyterium ranged in two groups, one on either side of the sanctuary in front of the altar. On their beginning the introit the procession enters the church. Advancing up the presbytery the seven acolytes range themselves four on one side and three on the other, to allow the procession to pass up through their midst; further on, the subdeacons do the same. The celebrant, arriving at the foot of the altar, bends low, then, standing erect, prays to himself for a short space, gives the kiss of peace to his

[1] In the following brief sketch certain purely ritual (as distinct from ceremonial) acts, like the offering of the gifts by the celebrant, the fraction, the commixtion, &c., which are not of a character to strike the onlooker, are passed over in silence

attendant ministers and prays again a short space during the conclusion of the introit.[1] Meantime the deacons go up the steps of the altar two and two, and kiss the ends of the altar one on either side, returning to the celebrant, who now ascends the altar steps, kisses the gospel book lying upon the altar, and afterwards the altar itself. Then he goes to his seat.

Saluting the people with *Pax vobis* (or, if the celebrant were a priest, probably *Dominus vobiscum*) and *Oremus*, he says the collect and then sits down to listen to the epistle, as do all the attendant ministers except the subdeacons, who stand on either side of the altar. The subdeacon goes to an ambo or pulpit unaccompanied, and without ceremony, and reads the epistle. The ensuing ceremonies connected with the reading of the gospel, with the attendant lights and censing of the book, are much the same as now, except that the gospel was sung (as it is in some places still sung) from a pulpit. At the close of the gospel, the book was kissed by all within the sanctuary.

It may be said that with this the ceremonial parts of the old Roman mass are over, just as the sacrifice is about to begin. The first act in it is what our rubrics call unfolding of the corporal. I fear I should shock my hearers were I to use the expression of our common parlance, "spreading the table-cloth"; and yet this is the term which exactly corresponds to what is prescribed in the earliest extant Roman rubrics. In those days a corporal was a cloth large enough to cover the altar. An acolyte stands holding the chalice with the corporal laid upon it; he hands the corporal to a deacon, who, with another deacon, mounts to the altar, one standing at either end; the deacon begins to unfold the corporal, throws one end of it to the other deacon, and so they spread it out over the altar; just what may be seen done any day in the laying of a table-cloth. I have been particular in noting and

[1] The gradual addition of the chant of the *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, *Agnus Dei*, and *Credo*, from the fifth to the eleventh century, did not affect the ceremonial of the mass.

describing this act in plain terms for a reason. "How homely!" someone may be tempted to exclaim. Now what is called "homeliness," of any kind, is the very last quality I should be disposed to predicate of the true Roman rite. The true Roman cannot forget his dignity. It is only and simply practical; the thing had to be done, and it was done in a plain and simple but the most practical manner. There are rites and times we know of that would have encompassed the act with symbolism and shrouded it in mystery. Mystery never flourished in the clear Roman atmosphere, and symbolism was no product of the Roman religious mind. Christian symbolism is not of pure Roman birth, nor a native product of the Roman spirit.

The celebrant now goes down to collect the offerings of bread and wine from the people, or, at least, from some, the most notable of them, whilst the psalm we call the "offertory" is being sung. There are careful and somewhat lengthy directions as to the mode in which these offerings are to be collected. It is of importance, however, to observe that these directions are not ceremonial, but, just like the direction to unfold the corporal, simply practical, purely practical, to ensure good order or to prevent blundering.

After receiving the offerings, the celebrant returns to his seat and washes his hands, whilst the deacons prepare the bread and wine on the altar. When all is ready, the celebrant comes from his seat to the altar, stands in front of it, kisses it, and says the collect called the "secret." Meantime, the various ministers, priests, and deacons, range themselves behind him, one and all with head deeply bowed, whilst the subdeacons go behind the altar and stand erect, facing the celebrant, to answer him when he says *Per omnia sæcula sæculorum*, at the end of the secret, and to the *Sursum corda*, and *Gratias agamus*. The singing of the *Sanctus* now beginning, the subdeacons bend low and the celebrant also. When the singing of the *Sanctus* is finished, the celebrant raises

himself, and, alone in the assembly, standing erect, whilst all others remain with head bowed, he begins the Canon in the midst of profound silence.

There is nothing to break this silence until he raises his voice to say *Nobis quoque peccatoribus*, when the subdeacons stand erect. At the words *Per quem hæc omnia*, the principal deacon lifts up the chalice from the altar, to enable the celebrant to touch the side of the chalice with the Sacred Host at the words *Per ipsum et cum ipso*, the doxology with which the Canon concludes.

There may be doubts as to the position of the kiss of peace in the early Roman mass, owing to the transfer made by St. Gregory of the *Pater noster* to its present position. But in view of the terms used by St. Innocent I. it would seem more probable that the Pax was given at this point, immediately at the close of the Canon. The kiss of peace is given by the celebrant to the most dignified among the clergy, is passed on to the rest, and then to the people. Meanwhile the celebrant returns to his chair to say, as a preparation for the communion, the Lord's Prayer and a short prayer, at the least equivalent to the *Libera nos quæsumus* of our present missal.

The altar is now cleared by the ministers of the chalice and consecrated Hosts. The directions for the breaking of the Hosts, preparatory to the communion, are again minute and careful, as at the offertory ; here too, however, there is nothing purely ceremonial. But the impression produced by the general communion of all the ministering clergy in the sanctuary must have been, in the highest degree, solemn and imposing. Next follows the communion of the people, during which the psalm, which we call the "communion," was sung. This finished, the celebrant went to the altar and said the collect, now called the "post-communion." A deacon sang *Ite missa est* ; the people answered *Deo gratias*, and the procession of the clergy returned to the sacristy.

I know that many later writers have found defects and deficiencies in the simple order of the Roman mass,

as given in the earliest extant books, have detected a *hiatus* here, and a gap there, which has been supplied by the analogy of other rites or later practice.[1] These I have disregarded, on the ground that the original sources, taken as they stand, give a perfectly reasonable and sufficient account without these extraneous and conjectural helps; they present, perhaps, not much more than the *essentials* of a mass, but still *all* the essentials.

Turning, however, from the mass in particular to the Roman rite at large as now practised, it will be found, if the matter be looked into, that the same rule holds good, viz., that the element which can be identified as Roman is simple, and that the elaboration is a foreign graft on the plain original stock; for instance, the rites of Palm Sunday, or the reproaches of Good Friday, or the elaborate ceremonial now attending the dedication of a church, or ordinations, or the consecration of a bishop.

In fact, I think it would not be untrue to say that what is considered most picturesque, or attractive, or devout, or affective—in a word, what is most "interesting," as the saying is, in the services of our religion; just those things indeed which in the popular mind are considered distinctive of "Romanism," and which go to make up, in the main, what some people call the "sensuousness of the Roman Catholic ritual," form precisely that element in it which is not originally Roman at all, but has been gradually borrowed, imported, adopted, in the course of ages. Of course it would take a very long time to make a full survey and give historical evidence in each particular case. But I think that the general position is unassailable; viz., that the genius of the native Roman rite is marked by simplicity, practicality, a great sobriety and self-control, gravity and dignity;

[1] I may say, in passing, that there seems a really strong presumption that the prayer, still to be found in the Ambrosian missal called *Super sindonem*, did form an item of the early Roman mass; but I do not think this can be said of any other suggested additional item.

but there it stops. And for a rite truly Roman this is just what we might expect. We must not separate in idea the Roman of pre-Christian days and the Roman under the Christian dispensation ; at bottom, in his instincts, in his powers, in his limitations, he is the same. It has been justly said that the Roman possessed the receptive but not the creative imagination ; or, as Newman has it, in a blunt way, "Rome, except in the case of some great Popes, has never shown any great gift of origination." As we view the character of the Roman as he has revealed himself in the course of his long history, we feel that it was not in *his* soul that arose the idea of sackcloth and ashes, and the priests, the Lord's ministers, weeping between the porch and the altar ; or even the loud Hosannas to the Son of David, who came meek, sitting on an ass, the people casting their garments on the way. But it is precisely in this simplicity, this practicality, this gravity, this absence of poetry, of that quality which we describe by the word "interesting," and of what our friends call "sensuousness," that lies the value and the importance of the native Roman rite for the history of public worship in Western Europe.

This paper may be fittingly closed by a rapid review of that history as illustrating the importance and also the limitations of the *rôle* played by the Roman genius therein.

It is commonly said that the main difference between the mass, or the mass books, of the East and of the West lies in this, that whilst the former supplies an unvarying form to be said by the priest from year's end to year's end, the mass in the West varies from day to day according to the ecclesiastical season and the feast. It is obvious that this variety, which prevails not in the Roman only, but in all the various rites that have been in use in the West, could not have come into existence until the ecclesiastical year was in some measure formed or developed. This did not take place until the second half of the fourth century.

We thus obtain a *terminus a quo* for dating the contents, so far as they are variable, of all extant missals, Roman, Gothic, Gallican, Ambrosian. Notices of the composition of masses and mass books in the fifth century are not uncommon. Nothing, to my mind, can be more unsatisfactory than the attempts that have been made to fix the dates of prayers, by means of allusions supposed to be contained in them to current events ; and we must be content to be ignorant, though if people *will* want to date things, it may be safe to say that the larger bulk of the liturgical formulæ to be found in the earliest Roman and Gallican mass books probably come from the fifth or sixth century ; some few may date from the fourth ; though which these are can be no more than a matter of uncertain conjecture.

Starting from the earliest extant manuscript missals, which are of the date of the seventh and eighth centuries, two propositions may be laid down that admit of no denial.

I. That there is no possibility of mistaking a Gallican or Gothic for a Roman book, and *vice versâ* ; and that, not for any recondite reason that may appeal only to the professed scholar, not for any ritual peculiarity on which the rubrician would be called in to decide, but for a reason plain on the face of the books themselves—viz., a style, a run of thought, and a mode of expression, so clearly different as to declare the two things to be the product of the mind, spirit, and genius of two different peoples.

II. That the Roman character comes out nowhere more clearly, more purely, than in the missal which alone we certainly know to have been in actual use in Rome at the very close of the eighth century—the missal which is commonly called "Gregorian," from St. Gregory the Great. There are, therefore, perfectly good grounds for saying that, up to this date, the rite of native Roman growth had preserved itself in Rome with very little of foreign admixture. But even so, the Roman mass con-

tained in this book bears, as I believe, marks of Constantinopolitan influence. The adoption of the *Kyrie* from the East has been already mentioned. Pope Gregory the Great, who, before his elevation to the papacy, had been the representative of the Pope and the Roman Church in the imperial city of Constantinople, was accused by some zealous persons of tampering with the Roman liturgy, in the intent to approximate to Greek practice. St. Gregory ably excuses himself, but he does not say the charge is untrue and baseless; and there was, as I read the facts, warrant for the charge. The litanies which he introduced into Rome, and to which he gave such prominence, the sedulous deprecations for mercy, mercy, mercy, were, like that great element of the early litany, the *Kyrie*, an importation into Rome from abroad. A litany is no item of Rome manufacture. But Gregory—if one of those great Roman Pontiffs endowed, as Newman says, with the gift of origination —was also a *Roman*, heart and soul, through and through; and it is not from Gregory, or in a book bearing his name, that we can expect such alterations as might tend to obliterate or would obscure the essentially Roman characteristics of the mass book of his Church as a product of the Roman genius, in all its clearness and simplicity, and precision, and order, and practical sense, but also in what may be called the severity of its lines, and its freedom from all that can be called sentiment and effusiveness or imagination, or mystery.

Turning to France, its mass books, as we have them, are in no wise such pure product of the Gallic mind and sentiment. They are full of fragments or entire prayers copied outright from Roman books—not indeed the mass book then in use in Rome, but an earlier one which the Gregorian had displaced. The discarded Roman book, enriched with additions from Gallican sources according to individual fancy and discretion, was also, in widely spread regions, adopted bodily in the Frankish kingdom.

The state of things in France, so far as mass and missal are concerned, at the accession of Charles the Great in 769, may be summed up in two words: liturgical anarchy.

If by descent and blood a Frank, Charles was in soul and spirit a Roman—an autocrat, indeed; but a man for whom autocracy meant, not the unbridled will of the ruler, but law and order and enlightened administration in the real interests and for the true welfare of the whole body politic. We have all heard of the monarch once designated as "Mon frère le sacristain." Charles the Great was tenfold more "the sacristan" than Joseph the Second. He made wars; he made laws; he made himself Roman Emperor; he loved letters; but he enjoyed his ecclesiastical administration and Church business of all sorts, in every detail, ritual and other. Never was he more pleased with himself than when presiding in his own chapel and setting everybody to rights. To a mind like his, the liturgical anarchy prevailing in his kingdom was intolerable; and, with his interests, the subject was sure, by and by, to engage his attention. When that time came, common sense dictated the measures most proper to put an end to the existing condition of affairs. The remedy was to be sought from without. The cardinal point of the policy of his house was close union with Rome; at Rome he had found in use a thoroughly sensible, well-ordered mass book—the Gregorian. This he adopted as the book which in future was to be brought into use throughout the length and breadth of his dominions. On this point there must be no question or parley. But he had also the ruler's instinct, and enough perhaps of the Frankish spirit to recognise that, to many, perhaps, this pure Roman book must seem to be dry and jejune, or prove in practice a curb, too hard to be borne, on natures more florid, or more sensitive, or more rich. As a practical statesman he forthwith caused this Gregorian mass book to be accordingly enriched with a supplement of additions

selected from the liturgical books already in use in France.

This was only a beginning of changes. During the ninth century the study of sacred rites, and especially of the Roman liturgy, became in France quite a fashionable pursuit ; not only Charles the Great, but his son also, the Emperor Lewis the Pious, and again Lewis's son, the Emperor Charles the Bald, showed themselves greatly interested in this branch of sacred science. The ninth century evidenced, no less than later phases of the history of liturgy, how loud and strenuous advocacy on the part of individuals of strict Roman observance could be found a singularly convenient means for pressing on others, under cover of the august Roman name, private preferences ; and it is no wonder if, at the close of the century, the Roman mass book, in the hands of its Frankish admirers, assumed a form and embodied rites which Pope Hadrian, who sent it to Charles the Great, would not have recognised as his own.

Rome itself seems to have taken the least possible interest in all that was going on ; and ended in accepting from the hands of the stranger, in place of the old Gregorianum, the mass book thus compiled in France. There is no evidence whatever to show when this change took place in Rome ; nor do I know of any indication even, except such as may be involved in this one fact, that so late as the last quarter of the ninth century, the Gregorian mass book, sent from Rome to Charles the Great, was to be found in use in Northern Italy, pure, and free from the Frankish addition.

The history of the liturgy during the later middle ages is simply and merely a history of an attempt (and a successful attempt) to accommodate the native Roman books and rites to the more devout or effusive or imaginative genius of the nations which had one and all adopted them ; and of the admission of these changes to a greater or lesser extent by Rome or the Roman Curia, giving them thereby for the benefit of posterity the authority of

the Roman name. It was in the course of these ages that the rite was enriched with a dramatic element which it had hitherto so greatly lacked. It was then that, subjected to this influence, actions were so largely added, expressive of the words used in the service ; or prayers were introduced (as, for instance, during the whole of the offertory in our present order of the mass) which should correspond to each detail of the actions performed. Practically, at that time there was, strictly speaking, no Roman rite left to follow. The Pope was very commonly, from the beginning of the twelfth century, absent from Rome ; the Papal Chapel might be anywhere ; and the observance of the churches in Rome itself sank, whilst the offices performed in the majestic Gothic cathedrals, now rising on every side, were ever increasing in dignity and splendour. This was the epoch of the formation of a rite that may not inaptly be called Romano-French : almost the last relics of which have disappeared in our own day ; unless, indeed, the compound called " Lyons-Roman " can be regarded as a survival. This Romano-French rite was possessed of just those qualities of picturesque and interesting elaboration in which the native Roman rite was so notably deficient ; it is this rite which has excited to so large an extent the admiration and the interest of those who have occupied themselves with the historical study of liturgy in the past two generations.

The final settlement of the Papacy in Rome in the fifteenth century, brought little change, so far as the liturgy is concerned. The diaries of the papal ceremoniars which now begin, copies of which are to be found in most of the great public libraries of Europe (and, among the rest, in the British Museum) give the fullest and most elaborate details on Roman liturgy, as exhibited in the papal chapel and the great churches of Rome at the close of the fifteenth, and in the first half of the sixteenth century, and explain how these were no longer, as at an earlier period, models for imitation by the rest of Western Christendom. An interesting correspondence between

S. Charles Borromeo and some Roman friends gives a sufficient idea of the state of the minor parish churches of Rome, and the services performed therein about the year 1560.

Taking a survey of Western Europe as a whole, it was in much the same condition of liturgical anarchy as that in which Charles the Great had found his own realm some eight centuries before. The Roman rite was the only one in use, except in the province of Milan[1]; but each church or diocese had modified it at discretion. There was, in face of recent movements, need once more of setting up a norm or type, and one somewhat more simple, to which the various local churches should conform. Then, as eight centuries before, in practice only one rite presented itself as possible for general adoption—viz., that of the local Church of Rome.

Fortunately, in accordance with a trait in the Roman character, the new settlement of the Roman books, made in accordance with the desire of the Council of Trent, was based on existing practice without any elaborate antiquarian investigation whether that practice was due to foreign influence, or how far it was of genuine Roman origin. As a fact, some ancient manuscripts then in the Vatican library were examined preparatory to settling the text of the missal put forth by S. Pius V.; but, fortunately, I repeat, these were not of an earlier date than the eleventh or twelfth century, and were books which issued from the union of the Gregorian, or true Roman Missal, with the compilation made in France by the direction of Charles the Great towards the close of the eighth century.

With the missal and breviary of S. Pius V., the Pontifical of Gregory XIII., the Ritual of Paul V., and, finally, the Cæremoniale Episcoporum of Urban VIII., the history of the Roman liturgy may be said to be closed; there have indeed been alterations and revisions since,

[1] I use these words in a popular, not (as I understand the matter) in a "scientific" sense.

but the changes made have been comparatively unimportant.

From the fact that the issue of these Roman service books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with their adoption by all the churches of the West, closes, and doubtless finally closes, that chapter of liturgical history, it must not be inferred that the different racial tendencies of mind and spirit, which exhibited themselves in the Roman or Gothic and Gallican missals of the sixth or seventh or eighth centuries, and are so clearly evidenced in the modifications to which the Roman rite was subjected in the later middle ages, were no longer active nor seeking to assert themselves in public worship in our churches ; but that spirit has gone another way to work. In the middle ages that effusive, affective, and devotional spirit continually made itself felt in modifications in the liturgical books themselves, and in the mode of carrying out the strictly official or liturgical public services. This explains the great variety and diversity of the rituals, missals, and breviaries of later medieval times ; and it explains also how the books of devotion of those days, contrary to what is common now, were drawn up on the lines of the official service books themselves ; or, as some people have put it, " there were no popular devotions in those days." But this was only because the popular devotional spirit expressed itself with freedom and liberty in the strictly liturgical services of the various local churches.

By the action of S. Pius V., and his successors, in stamping the Roman books put forth by them with a definite character, and by the institution of a Congregation of Rites designed to keep observances on the lines laid down in those books, such manipulation of the public service books of the Church as was common in the middle ages in every country in Europe, was destined to be finally put an end to. But the spirit then active has never ceased to be active still, and it still finds a field for its operations. Unable to act inside and on the liturgy

itself, it acts with yet greater freedom without. One path shut up, its seeks its ends by another. And this is the explanation of the rapid growth, the wonderful variety, and great development in the last two or three centuries, of what we call, to distinguish them from the fixed official services, "devotions" ; whilst they are evidence, too, that the two spirits betraying themselves so clearly in the first mass books of which we have knowledge, exist in their duality still.

This is the explanation, too, of that contrast which so many writers have drawn between the tone of our official prayer books—the missal, the breviary, and the rest—and the books of devotion in general use amongst us. To mention a single name ; Dr. Pusey was very fond of pointing this out, now in one form, now in another ; but his anti-Roman prejudices unfortunately prevented him from seeing the reason and discovering the cause. It may be urged by such persons, in another mood, that the Roman expression of the sense of the relation between man and his Maker, found in the Roman liturgy, is an inadequate or unsatisfactory expression of the aspirations of the soul. But it certainly has virtues of its own, virtues the more necessary and the more valuable, inasmuch as the religious history of Europe at large has shown them, on more than one occasion, not to have been recognised in these relations as virtues at all.

If I had to indicate in two or three words only, the main characteristics which go to make up the essential genius of the Roman rite, I should say that those characteristics were essentially soberness and sense.

INDEX

Ablutions, 30.
Act of Uniformity, First, 251.
Agnus Dei, 27, 258, 291.
Alb, 10, 14, 103, 104, 184, 242, 244, 245.
—— plain, 245.
Alms, 46.
Altar, 6 ff., 12, 195 ff., 242, 259.
—— breads, 12.
—— cushion, 10, 49, 55.
—— dimensions of, 199.
—— lights, 61 ff., 249. *See* Lights.
—— vessels, 8.
—— vestures of, 6 ff., 12, 50 ff., 64, 200-202, 260.
Ambo, 72, 73.
Amess, 5, 101, 244.
Amice, 10, 184.
Andrews, Bp., 15.
Anthem, 5.
'Apparel,' 184.
Arms, outspreading of, 27.

Bale, Bp., 263.
Baptismal service, 32.
———— colour for, 166, 167.
Barnes, A. G., 89.
Bason, 8, 243.
Benedictus, 23.
Benson, Archbp., 11.
Beresford Hope, A. J. B., 39.
Bidding, the, 21.
Bisse, Dr., 6.
Blessing, the, 29, 70, 71.
Breathing on elements, 26, 256, 258.
Bullinger, 219 ff., 250, 253 ff., 267, 268, 272, 273.
Burchardt, 35, 135.
Burial service, 34.
—— —— colour for, 164.
Burnet, Bp., 210.
Butzer, 225, 249, 256, 271.

Calvin, 212 ff.
Canon, the, 22 ff.
Cap, 4, 244.
Cassock, 76 ff., 101.
Cautels of mass, 26, 31.
Ceremonial, English, 3 ff.
Chalice-veil, 9.
Chasuble, 10, 185 ff., 246, 247.
Cheke, Sir J., 271.
Chrismatory, 243, 265.
Chrisom, 242.
Clerk, 9, 14-16, 32, 275.
Collects, 15, 75.
—— standing for, 5.
Colours, liturgical, 32, 33, 55, 89 ff.
—— —— Ashen, 105.
—— —— Black, 104.
—— —— Blue, 104.
—— —— Burnet, 105.
—— —— Dove, 105.
—— —— Dun, 105.
—— —— Glaucous, 103.
—— —— Green, 103.
—— —— Perse, 104.
—— —— Purple, 102.
—— —— Red, 101.
—— —— Tawny, 103.
—— —— Violet, 104.
—— —— White, 102.
—— —— Yellow, 103.
Colour sequences, 107 ff., 191.
—— —— table of, 167 ff.
'Comfortable words,' 23.

Commandments, ten, 14, 15, 17, 74.
Comper, J. N., 204.
Confession, the, 23.
Confirmation service, 33.
—— —— colour for, 166.
Cope, 5, 33, 185, 186, 190, 242, 244, 270.
Corporas, 8, 9, 12, 17, 22, 26, 28, 30, 44, 242, 261, 262, 275, 295.
Coverdale, M., 231.
Cranmer, Archbp., 33, 207 ff., 233, 244, 245, 274, 279.
Creed, the, 18, 19.
—— —— facing east, 19, 81.
Cross, 8, 268.
—— creeping to, 259.
—— sign of, 18, 20, 23, 24, 29-32, 34, 255.
Cruets, 8, 49, 243.
Customs, ancient liturgical, 39 ff.

Dalmatic, 10, 95, 189.
Day, Dr., 261.
Dirge, 34, 272.
'Divine Service,' 4.
Dixon, R. W., 208.
Dossal, 6, 58, 202, 260.

Easter sepulchre, 273.
Edw. VI., First Prayer Book of, 207 ff.
Edw. VI., First Prayer Book, Ornaments in use under, 241 ff.
Elements, preparation of, 11-13, 17, 41 ff., 275.
Elevation, 26, 258, 265, 275, 294.
Epistle, the, 16, 17, 71, 274, 275.
—— reader of, 16, 17.
Epistoler, 10, 68.

Fagius, 225, 226.
Fasting Communion, 280.
Flowers, 8, 60, 203.
Font-cover, 79.
Foxe, 252.
'Fraction, the,' 24-26.
Frere, W. H., 204.
Frontal, 6, 55, 56, 64, 200, 260.
Frontlet, 7.

Gardiner, Bp., 280.
Geste, E., 235.
Gestures, 255, 256.
Girdle, 184.
Gloria in excelsis, 20, 28, 95, 291.
Gospel, the, 16-18, 71, 274, 275, 294, 295.
Gospeller, 10, 68.
Gradin, 8, 51, 56 ff.
Grail, 275.
Grandisson, Bp., 126, 144.

'Halpas,' 58.
Hampton Court chapel, 6.
Hancock, T., 228, 229.
Hands joined, 23.
Henderson, Dr., 99.
Herse-cloth, 145, 164.
High celebration, 32, 68.
Hood, 4, 34, 241, 242, 244.
Hooper, Bp., 216, 221, 229, 257 ff., 268 ff.
Houseling-cloth, 51.
Hutchinson, R., 280.
Hymns, 6.

Incense, 5, 13, 17, 20, 28, 34, 35, 263-270, 275, 294.
In principio, 30.

Jonas, Justus, 217, 218.

Kiss of Peace, 27, 34, 294 ff.

Lasco à, 216, 224, 226.
'Last Gospel,' 30.
Latimer, Bp., 208, 264, 280.
Legg, Dr. J. W., 6, 25, 89, 90, 99, 204, 266, 267, 273.
Lent-veil, 120, 140.
Lights, 5, 7, 10, 27, 33-35, 51-54, 58, 61 ff., 203, 249, 256 ff., 265, 268, 272, 275, 294.
'Lincoln judgment,' 11.
Lindewode, 30.
Linen vestments, 192.
Low mass, 68,

MacColl, M., 4.
Marriage service, 33.
—— —— colour for, 167.

Martyr, P., 222, 223, 276.
Micklethwaite, J. T., 57.
Missa sicca, 242.
Mitre, 245.
Mixed chalice, 11, 42, 45, 267.
Month's mind, 271.
Moving the book, 256, 258.

Neale, J. M., 64.
North-side, 12, 13.

Oblation, Prayer of, 27.
Occasional services, 32 ff.
—— —— —— colours for, 166, 167.
Ochino, B., 225.
'Offertory,' 22, 42, 45, 296.
Offertory-veil, 9.
Ordinal of 1550, 273.
Organs, 273.
Ornaments, 4, 6, 55, 67,
—— of 1549, 241 ff., 279.
Ornaments Rubric, 3, 185, 191, 273.
Orphreys, 188-190.
Overall, Bp., 27.

Parsons, R., 277.
Pascall, the, 33, 259.
Pastoral staff, 242, 244.
Piscina, 30.
Pix, 243, 247, 248, 265.
Pocock, N., 226, 232.
Pole, Cardinal, 238, 253.
Poynet, Bp., 210, 245.
Pusey, Dr., 307.

Reading towards the people, 70 ff.
Red wine, 47-49.
Reredos, 6, 58, 60.
Reverences, 19, 20, 28, 256, 294.
Riddels, 6, 7, 70, 202.
Ridley, Bp., 255 ff., 269, 273.
Ring, blessing of, 33.
Rochet, 101, 181 ff., 242, 247.
Roman Rite, Genius of, 283 ff.
Roman accretions to, 291.
—— Rite, ceremonial of, 293 ff.
—— ceremonial accretions to, 294.
—— chief ceremonial moments, 294.
—— original elements of, 291, 292.
—— simplicity of original, 292, 293.
Rome uninterested in liturgy, 303.
Roodloft, 72, 134, 259.
Rubrics, 3, 253, 276.

Sacring bell, 258.
Sanctus, 23, 81.
Screens, 259.
Scripture Lessons, 14-16.
'Septum,' 15.
Somerset, Duke of, 212 ff., 261, 277.
St. John Hope, W. H., 89, 162, 204.
St. Louis of France, 20.
Staley, Vernon, 204.
Station days, 242.
Stole, 4, 10, 32, 34, 185 ff.
Sudary, 9.
Surplice, 4, 5, 10, 34, 76-79, 101, 183, 241, 242, 244, 262.

Tippet, 4, 186, 244.
Tractarians, the, 3.
Tunicle, 10, 95, 189, 242, 244.
Turner, W., 233.
Turning to the people, 70 ff.

Unction of the sick, 243, 262.

"Veni Creator, Spiritus," 10, 266.
Veiling images, 140, 141.
'Vestment, a,' 246, 247.
Vestments, Church, 179 ff., 241, 242, 256, 268.

Wafers, 243, 262.
Washing the fingers, 258.
Westminster Abbey, 63.
Wine, red, 47-99.

ST. DEINIOL'S LIBRARY
HAWARDEN

BUTLER & TANNER,
THE SELWOOD PRINTING WORKS,
FROME, AND LONDON.